BRACHET'S

FRENCH GRAMMAR

A

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR

OF THE

FRENCH TONGUE

BY

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BOOK III.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

BY É. LITTRÉ.

ALTHOUGH the steady advance of research visible in every branch of knowledge is undoubtedly chiefly due to the methods of the sciences, still high honour must be given to those well-trained minds which have conducted their investigations in accordance with these methods. Born servants of methodical enquiry, they obtain, as the reward of their labours, the plentiful results which good methods of investigation yield; and this, to take the subject before us, has been the case with M. Brachet, whose Historical Grammar has done much to advance the study of the French tongue, which in its origin, history, and development has been strangely neglected till our own day.

In language the essential elements of methodical study are Comparison and Filiation. So long as this was not understood the efforts of the learned were quite illusory, and scholars simply dealt with fictions or arbitrary statements. At first sight one does not see why the true method was so long neglected. What could be more simple than the comparative study of Greek and Latin? what more obvious than the filiation seen in the transition from Latin to the Romance tongues? Had they followed these lines, the old grammarians, instead of dealing with empty and subjective

notions, would have left behind them the rudiments of sound and genuine teaching; the science of language would have begun with them. This was not done, because there was a solid though temporary obstacle in the way, which had to be removed before this branch of knowledge could find access to the right method. Thanks to the intimate relations and connected advance of the whole social system of man, those sciences which by reason of their greater simplicity precede history and language had first to establish the authority of positive methods; and this they did with triumphant success. Fortified by their example, investigation easily drove the spirit of fiction out of the domain of language; and the human intelligence, now duly equipped for its new work, soon brought to light great treasures of linguistic knowledge.

If it be urged that in this very interval began the study of Sanskrit, I would reply—It is true: the marvellous discovery of this far-off brother of the Greek and Latin languages threw a flood of light on the comparative study of human speech: still, even without this aid, the learned would soon have grasped the connexion between the various Aryan tongues, and, though with more toil and less precision, would have attained to clear and definite ideas as to the grammar, etymology, and gradual formation of the several languages, and as to the true filiation of the nations which spoke them.

M. Brachet lays down his aim with great distinctness when he says—' The subject of this book is not the grammar of Old French. The French language in its medieval state finds a place in it only so far as it illustrates Modern French. Present usage depends on ancient usage, and can only be explained by it. Modern French without Old French is a tree without roots; Old French by itself is a tree without branches or leaves: the separation of the two is an injustice to both—an injustice constantly done to them even in the

present day; and their proper combination is the only originality claimed for this book, and gives it a right to be called a Historical Grammar.'

I go heartily with these words. · I too have fought for this doctrine; and the young men who are stepping into our place take up the cause where we must lay it down: the battle once fought is won, and learning will advance in their hands, even as it has advanced in ours.

'One can only explain words or grammatical facts,' says M. Brachet, 'by their history.' A little discovery lately made provides me with an interesting confirmation of the truth of this statement, and at the same time enables me to make a correction in my own Dictionary. Under the word *Cercueil*, I adopted the opinion of the great linguist Diez, who derives it from the Germanic *sark*, and rejects the Latin-Greek *sarcophagus*, which in Low Latin days had the same meaning as the French *cercueil*. He argued that the final *-ueil* of *cercueil* indicated a diminutive, and that **sarcophagulus** would have produced, not *sarcueil* or *cercueil*, but *sarfail*. At the time I had no fact in hand with which to controvert the objection of so great a scholar; not long after, however, M. Focet de Bernay found in a fourteenth-century list of benefices the phrase 'Ecclesia de **sarcophagis**,' as the name of a place which is still called *Cerqueux*, in the Lisieux arrondissement (Calvados). He informed me of his discovery, which proves that **sarcophagis** not only could have produced *cerqueux*, but that it actually did so. Now, as *cerqueux* represents **sarcophagis**, if the case-ending **-s** be dropped we get to *cerqueu*, which answers to the Old French forms *sarcou, sarcu, sarqueu.* Thus **sarcóphagus** regularly lost the two final atonic syllables, and became *sarcou, sarcu, sarqueu*: consequently we may conclude that the *-ueil* in *cercueil* is a diminutive termination, attached not to the Latin word but to the French, not to **sarcophagus** but to *sarcou*.

Names of places are of the utmost value to etymology, as they show what changes words have undergone on the spot. Thus, for example, they have made the etymologist perfectly easy as to the derivation of *basoche* from **basilica**. All places which in Latin were called **basilica** are called *basoche* in French. This acknowledged, we can quickly prove that the derivative is perfectly regular ; in **basílica** the accent rests on the first **i**; that syllable accordingly remains, and the atonic **i** disappears, hence **basil'ca** ; then the **l** before another consonant also goes, leaving its influence on the vowel before it, which is strengthened by **i** becoming *o*, a somewhat unusual change, though not unlike what we see in **alter**, *autre* ; **filtrare**, *feutrer* ; **filicaria**, *fougère*.

Very simple and regular are the steps of the passage from Latin into French. M. Brachet states them shortly thus :— The accented Latin syllable is kept ; the syllable or syllables which follow it and are atonic, perish ; in the syllables which precede it the medial consonant goes ;—we have reached the French word. Examples :—**ligáre**, *lier* ; **dómina**, *dame* ; **pórticus**, *porche* ; **sollicitáre**, *soucier*, and so on. This is the uniform process ; were it not so spontaneous and unconscious we might be tempted to call it a system.

Furthermore, says M. Brachet, this process is only carrying out a generalisation which, even in Latin days, was going on in the popular tongue. The vulgar Latin said **caldus**, not **calidus** ; **frigdus**, not **frigidus** ; **moblis**, not **mobilis** ; **postus**, not **positus** ; **stablum**, not **stabulum** ; **anglus**, not **angulus**. As we have just said, the French language carried this a stage farther, by suppressing the medial consonant ; and this change, peculiar to France, distinguishes the French from the Italian process ; for the Italians mostly retain the medial consonant as well as the atonic syllables, as we see in *fiebole* from **flebilis**, where the old French was *floibe*, modern French *faible*.

And thus we see how faithfully Italy represents the Latin

type; for lying, as she does, directly under the Latin sun, she reflects its rays far more clearly than France could do, whither the beams had to travel from afar, and were much modified in their passage.

This formative process, which characterises the French language, having been established, we can at once tell which are the words constructed by literature and the learned, at a time when the Latin was dead and gone and its accent forgotten. The unfailing signs which mark these words are the possession of a French instead of a Latin accent, and the retention of the medial consonant. Thus *délié* is Old French, and *délicat* Modern French, for delicatus; *soucier* Old French, and *solliciter* Modern, for sollicitare, and so on. This construction of modern forms is not peculiar to modern times; for it existed in the early days of the French language: as far back as the twelfth century we find the word *cogitation* from cogitationem, whereas originally cogitare had produced *cuider*, and the true French form of cogitationem ought to have been *cuidaison*. This was rendered inevitable by the penury of the language; for being of popular and rustic origin it lacked all those Latin expressions which are not wanted in common life. Thus in the twelfth century we find the Gallican Psalter uncertain how to render innocentem; often we find *non-nuisant*, while sometimes it ventures on the novelty *innocent.*

At the time when the process which formed the French language was going on, Gaulish words had taken Latin forms, and were treated as if they had been of Latin origin. Let me explain what I mean here by Gaulish words: the Gaulish is no doubt a Celtic language,—what dialectic relation then does it bear to the non-Celtic tongues? that is, what form would it have taken had it survived the Roman conquest? We cannot answer; for the Low-Breton is not by any means certainly Gaulish, and is too much mixed with the Gallic to

be of any service in the enquiry. In fact, we possess only a very scanty list of Gaulish words in their true and authentic forms, words preserved to us on medals and inscriptions ; the names also of places have often remained Gaulish, and, when adopted by the Latins, were treated as Latin words in their transformation ; such are **Ligeris**, *Loire* ; **Sequana**, *Seine* ; **Pictavi**, *Poitou*. If we did not know that the **tro** in **Matrona** and the **ro** in **Turones** were short, the French would tell us so by rendering these words into *Marne* and *Tours*. **Rotómagum**, with the accent on **to**, becomes *Rouen*, just as **sarcóphagus** produced *cerqueux*. It is thus quite clear that the ears of our ancestors were fully filled with Latin sounds.

Phonology or Phonetics, a new word created to express a new way of looking at the study of languages, examines sounds, and sees how they are modified and transformed. French Phonology is the subject of the First Book of M. Brachet's Grammar. He has here gone into very minute details ; that is to say, has worked at it conscientiously, and deserves warm praise : for Phonology is nothing if it is not minute ; and, if pushed as far as possible, rewards the student by giving him unerring rules for the formation of words. I have read with very great care these pages with their full details, and have always found what I looked for, and often more than I looked for, in the comprehensive results, which spring from careful grouping, and enable one to see so much in a single glance. I have also perceived, though it is a small matter, that in the origin of the French *ss*, M. Brachet has left out one case : he says that it comes from the Latin **x**, as in **exagium**, *essaim*, and from a Latin **ss**, as in **fossa**, *fosse*; he should have added **ds**, as in *assez* from **adsatis**, and *assurer* from **adsecurare**.

Délié, which, with *délicat*, comes from **delicatus**, has a peculiar history ; its ancient form was not *delié* but *deljé*,

deugié, dougié (all dissyllables), words formed quite regularly, the ĭ disappearing and del'catus becoming *deljé,* Prov. *delguat,* Sp. *delgado.* How then did *délié,* a word of three syllables, which does not appear till towards the fifteenth century, come into existence?—for that was an epoch at which a new representative of **delicatus** should have been *délicat.* I am inclined to think, by way of a solution of the difficulty, that *délié* existed all the time alongside of *deljé* or *deugié,* but that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the dissyllabic forms prevailed so as to leave no traces, in the literature of those ages, of the longer form, while at a later time *délié,* which hitherto had suffered eclipse, reappeared and entirely drove away its rivals.

It is quite true that initial *f* may come from a Latin **v,** as we see in M. Brachet's example, *fois* from **vice,** or, as I should prefer to say, from **vicibus,** in order to account for the final *s* in the French word. I am aware that Diez and Brachet consider this final *s,* found in several adverbs, to be in all those cases a purely paragogic letter: I confess, however, that this paragogic or accretive character, which is plain enough in many instances, does not seem to me to explain them all. Let me take this opportunity of saying a few words on the subject.

Diez, who was the first to call attention to this fact of Romance grammar, as well indeed as to many other facts, quotes *onque-s, avecque-s, ore-s, guère-s, volontier-s,* &c.; and shows that the Provençal and Spanish often reproduce the phenomenon. Hence he concludes that in the sphere of the Romance languages there can be seen a tendency to subjoin this -*s* to adverbs and particles, in order to distinguish them from other words. The fact is incontestable, and our thanks are due to Diez for the discovery. Is it nevertheless impossible to discover how it is that the *s* was thus employed, and what was the original meaning of this

suffix? Explanations are dangerous things; yet I am bold enough to submit to competent scholars a conjecture as to this final *s*. Diez, as he pursues the subject, notices that this *s* is replaced in Italian by an *i*, as in *guar-i lungh-i*, *tard-i*, *volontier-i*, and adds that both the Italian *i* and the *s* of the other Romance languages are signs of the plural, which however may be only a simple coincidence. A coincidence affecting all the four Romance languages seems to me hardly an admissible explanation. When Diez calls *s* the sign of the plural, he does not go far enough, or rather he has not made sufficient distinction, because it did not occur to him that any such farther consideration was needed. For my part, I should like to push this matter farther, and to add that in Old French the *s* is the sign of the objective case in the plural, and not of the nominative: I conclude, therefore, that this final *s* is simply the sign of that case, and that *volontier-s*, *certe-s*, *envi-s* (now *à l'envi*) represented **volontarii-s, certi-s, inviti-s.** The formation of adverbs from one of the cases of adjectives is not unusual; Latin adverbs in **o** are nothing else. The ablative plural readily took an adverbial sense, and hence it came that this *s* served to distinguish the adverb from the adjective. In Italian, however, the sign of the plural is *i*, whether in the nominative or objective case; for the two cases which the French language retained have never existed in Italian. Thus then it seems clear that the relation between these terminations is no mere coincidence, but that the French adverbial *s* has a proper grammatical origin and meaning. The Romance languages did not carry out this structure, and it is found only in a few words; the bulk of their adverbs have been formed with the suffix *-ment* (Sp., It. *-mente*).

Once introduced into the adverbial form because it had a real meaning, the *s*, thanks to the imitative tendency of language, spread across to adverbs and even to prepositions

in which it had no such claim to appear, and thus became eventually a true paragogic or accretive letter. And thus we have **sine**, *sans*, as though the Latin word had been **sines**; and **ante**, *ains* as if from **antiis**. On the other side, the Italians, for the same reason (which proves that it was but a mere coincidence), created *anzi*, *tardi*, &c., using a paragogic -*i*, just as the French employed their -*s*.

Each of the Romance languages, in its relation to the Latin, has its special phonology. **Flamma** and **plangere** are in Italian *fiamma*, *piangere*, forms unknown to the French and Spanish; **filius, formosus, ferrum**, are in Spanish *hijo, hermoso, hierro*, forms unknown to the French and Italian; **saltus, calidus, salvus**, are in French *saut, chaud, sauf*, forms again unknown to the Italian and Spanish. If you draw out, as has been done, exact tables of these respective modifications, you arrive at the comparative system of the Romance languages. Then, if you leave these modern tongues, and follow the same process for the Greek, Latin, Germanic, Celtic, Slavonic, Persian, Sanskrit, you will arrive at the comparative system of the Aryan languages. Similarly, one might construct the Semitic group, and, passing from neighbour to neighbour, form several systems distinguished from one another by their roots, their phonology, and their grammar. This done, these groups may be compared, and farther generalisation would ensue. In past times more than one general grammar has been written; but, as a general grammar can never be more than an inductive result from the special grammars of groups of languages, we can at once distinguish between the premature and the mature, between the *a priori* and the *a posteriori* elements of such works.

Having thus, by the example of the Romance tongues, shown what a system of language is, we may now return to the French, and remark with M. Brachet, that we can only

explain modern French grammar by knowing the grammar of the Old French. Inflexion, or the modifications of a word declined or conjugated, which is the subject of the Second Book of the Historical Grammar, provides us with constant illustrations of this truth.

Before we had this Old French grammar to fall back on, who could ever explain why the French -*s* indicated the plural? The Latin declensions, which had some plurals with and some without -*s*, offer no solution of the difficulty; and yet these Latin declensions are in fact the cause of the phenomenon. In French nouns, the nominative plural was indicated by the absence of this -*s* (**muri**, *mur*), and the object-case by its presence (**populos,** *peuples*). Then presently, as the French language threw away the nominative, retaining only the object-case, the -*s* of that case became the universal sign of the plural.

Inversely, in the singular, the nominative had an -*s* (**murus,** *murs*), and the object-case was without it (**murum,** *mur*). In this instance also the nominative was dropped and the object-case retained; thus Old French has *li rois, li chevals* or *chevaus*, where modern French has *le roi, le cheval*. There are some important exceptions to this rule, and these, like all exceptions, deserve consideration—these are *cors, tems, ues, lez*, which had an -*s* even in the nominative, because they came from **corpus, tempus, opus, latus.** These neuters had their -*s* also in the object-case, and the French has thus retained this peculiarity, which has disappeared from the Italian *corpo, tempo, uopo, lato*.

While on the subject of exceptions and their value, there is one that I should wish to mention, though it has no proper bearing on M. Brachet's work, for it never passed into modern French, and is therefore excluded by the plan of his Historical Grammar. Latin feminine nouns ending in -**as,** -**atis,** like **sanitas, bonitas,** &c., are in modern French

santé, bonté, words which represent according to rule the accusatives **sanitatem, bonitatem.** In contradiction to this rule the Old French had *cit* as well as *cité*; as in the Berthe aux grands Pieds, 'Et je fui amenée en la *cit* de Paris.' So far as I know this is the only example of this formation: let us nevertheless try to explain it. *Cit* is the regular representative of the nominative **cívitas** (with its accent on the first syllable), while *cité* is from **civitátem** (with accent on the penultimate syllable). Having this form *cit* before us, we may feel sure that there must have been a time when Old French still possessed a nominative for these words in **-as, -atem**; analogy suggests it, and the form *cit* witnesses to it. This nominative, however, disappeared, leaving only the accusative form in use; as also happened with the other classes of substantives.

This digression on the subject of *cit* leads one on to a similar exception which, in its turn, is connected with a singular anomaly in both old and modern French. This is the case of *la caure,* meaning 'heat' (*chaleur*), a word found in twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts. *La caure* comes from **calor** (like *cit* from **civitas**), while *chaleur* is from **calorem** (like *cité* from **civitatem**). *Caure,* also like *cit,* is unique; all other substantives from Latin words in **-or, -orem**, are formed from the accusative, as *douleur* from **dolorem,** *peur* from **pavorem,** &c. And here comes in the singular anomaly to which I have just referred: how is it that these substantives are masculine in Latin and feminine in French? *Amour, honneur, labeur,* which are masculine, are no exceptions; they were all three originally feminine; *amour* is still of both genders; *honneur* is feminine in the line of the Chanson de Roland

'Je n'aurai jà qui soustienne m'onur'

(*m'onur* being for *ma onur*); and *labeur* is feminine in Chrestien de Troyes: 'Jà n'iert perie ma labeur.' In answer

to this question, I have constructed a little theory—if the word is not too ambitious for so slight a matter—which is based on the existence and form of *la caure*. From *la caure* as a fragment, I assume that all the words of this class had originally a nominative answering to it, ending as it does with *e* mute, and feminine in gender. To this *e* mute I am inclined to attribute the power of transforming these words into feminines. This view gains some support from the fact that these words are all masculine, as they ought to be, in Italian and Spanish, while they are feminine in the Provençal, which, like Old French, had both the cases. That both Old French and Provençal have both cases, and make feminine nouns out of the Latin masculines, is more than a coincidence, if my explanation is adopted; it becomes a fact governed by rule.

Finally, M. Brachet had still to study the composition and derivation of words; that is, to review the parts which are added to a root in order to modify the sense—parts called prefixes when they are placed before and suffixes when they are placed after it. This is the object of the Third and last Book of the Historical Grammar. These points are treated in minute detail, and are excellent examples of grouping, exactitude, and precision—qualities which are specially characteristic of M. Brachet's method. This said, I will select two suffixes, *-ai* and *-ais* (the future and the conditional), in order to call the attention of students to this specimen of the peculiarities which came up in the passage from Latin into the Romance languages.

In this process of growth the future tense presented a difficulty. **Cantabo** might easily have become *chanteve*; but then this would have been confounded with the representative of the imperfect **cantabam**, O. F. *chanteve* (*chantoie*, now *chantais*). Even the Italian language, though more tenacious of its final syllables, would have felt the same difficulty. We

may see another example of the same confusion in the
Old French *j'ere*, which came from both **eram** and **ero**,
a confusion which in this case contributed largely to the
establishment of the form *je serai*. In the different conju-
gations this difficulty became quite insurmountable; for in
accordance with the laws of accent, and those of the loss
or dulling of atonic syllables, **legam** and **serviam** could
produce no other form than that which also served for **lego**
and **servio**. This being so, the Romance languages—for
the phenomenon is common to France, Italy, and Spain—
boldly constructed a completely new future by means of the
infinitive of the verb combined with the present of the auxi-
liary *avoir*; *je chanter-ai, je lir-ai, je servir-ai* are simply *j'ai
à chanter, j'ai à lire, j'ai à servir*. And beyond this, these
languages in the impulse of their movement have originated
a mood which was wanting in Latin, the conditional, con-
structing it, on the plan of the future, out of the infinitive and
the termination of the imperfect; *je chanter-ais, je lir-ais*,
a conditional, which, as M. Brachet says, was conceived as
having the infinitive to express the future with a termination
to express the past. These instances teach us something
as to the inventive genius and grammatical instinct of the
Romance peoples. I have described the event as if it had
been the result of deliberation and experiments; it was in
reality something better still; it was done in unconscious
certainty.

All students of the Romance languages see with some
surprise that the Langue d'Oïl (I omit the Langue d'Oc
because it has died out since) had at the beginning two
cases, a nominative and an object-case, while at the same
period the Italian and Spanish had no such declension. At
that time accordingly the French declension, scanty as it was,
gave that language what I venture to call a grammatical
priority over the others—that is, gave it a structure more

close to the Latin and therefore more synthetic.   Thus the language stood in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, being at the same time the vehicle of a very considerable and wide-spread literature; later on, in the fourteenth century, this declension is toned down, begins to disappear, and the language falls into a transitional state, unlike both its past and its future.   On the other hand, the Italian, which had a complete system without cases, now took grammatical priority over the French; for it was completely ordered and fixed just when the French was in course of decomposition. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this process was completed; the French tongue became completely analytical and modern, and henceforth French and Italian were parallel. In the long interval between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries we shall do well to bear in mind these grammatical movements, if we would get a fair view of the literary evolution of the language.

My study of this subject has had two things in view; first, to interest students in the historical development of the French language, and secondly, to commend to them M. Brachet's Historical Grammar.   When one is old and about to leave the stage, it is pleasant to turn towards those who are just coming on, and to bear ready witness to the goodness of the work produced by younger men.

É. LITTRÉ.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

This Historical Grammar, which seeks to study the laws of formation of the French tongue, is not meant to be one of the many purely grammatical works which aim at facilitating the practical aquirement of the language.

For it is no longer sufficient simply to regard the study of language as an useful preparation for the study of literature. It is now seen that speech, which belongs in common to all the human race, must, like all natural phenomena, follow fixed laws, and pass in its transformations through regular stages. Linguistic studies may, therefore, be an end in themselves; for instead of pursuing them in a spirit of idle curiosity, we may, in studying them, investigate the manner in which the law of change, which governs all nature, is applied to languages.

It is an old saying that languages are not born but transmuted: philology investigates the law of this transmutation, using for her instruments history and comparison. Let us explain:—in those sciences which are based on observation, such as chemistry or natural history, it is impossible to account for any fact unless we know what fact preceded it: if we would explain how a tree is formed, we must go back from tree to young shoot, from shoot to germ or seed: in other words, we must make out the history of the tree by careful observation of the different conditions and forms through which it has passed. We best discern that which is by knowing that which has been; the right way to discover

the causes of any phenomenon is to look at the same time at the phenomena which have preceded it. So too for philology, which is, if we may hazard the phrase, the botany of language; here also we may best explain words or grammatical facts by the study of their history. A single example will put this in a clearer light.

It is well known that before certain feminine substantives, such as *messe, mère, soif, faim, peur,* &c., the adjective *grand* keeps its masculine termination, *grand'messe, grand'mère,* &c. Why so? Grammarians, who are puzzled by nothing, tell us without hesitation that *grand* is here put for *grande,* and that the apostrophe marks the suppression of the final *e.* But against this the good sense of every scholar protests: after having learnt in childhood that *e* mute is cut off before a vowel, and never before a consonant, he is told that the *e* is here cut off without the slightest reason in such phrases as *grand'route,* &c. The real explanation is in fact a very different one. In the beginning French grammar was simply the continuation and prolongation of Latin grammar; consequently the Old French adjective followed in all points the Latin adjective; those adjectives which had two terminations for masculine and feminine in Latin (as **bonus, bona**) having two in Old French, and those which had but one in the Latin (as **grandis, fortis,** &c.) having only one in Old French. Accordingly, in the thirteenth century men said *une grand femme,* **grandis femina;** *une áme mortel,* **anima mortalis;** *une coutume cruel,* **consue-tudo crudelis;** *une plain vert,* **planities viridis,** &c. By the fourteenth century the meaning of this distinction was lost; and men, deeming it a mere irregularity, made the second class of adjectives uniform with the first, and wrote

grande, verte, forte, &c., after the pattern of *bonne,* &c.
Such expressions as *grand'mère, grand'route, grand'faim,
grand'garde,* &c., which are the *débris* of the earlier lan-
guage, retain a trace of the older and more correct form.
In the seventeenth century, Vaugelas and the grammarians
of the age, in their ignorance of the historic reason of this
usage, pompously decreed that the form of these words arose
from euphonic suppression of the *e* mute, which must be
indicated by an apostrophe.

Here then is a natural explanation founded on history;
and even if historical grammar had no other result be-
yond that of rendering ordinary grammars more logical
and simple, it would still be worth much. But instead
of employing this clear and fruitful method of observa-
tion, instead of studying the past to get a better under-
standing of the present, grammarians, from Vaugelas to
M. Girault-Duvivier, have limited themselves to the study of
the language in its actual form, and have tried to explain
a priori (by pure reason and logic) facts which can be
explained only by the history of the language and the study
of its ancient state. And accordingly, for the last three
centuries, they have built up systems which were both learned
and puerile, instead of limiting themselves to the simple
observation of facts; they persist in treating philology as
Voltaire treated geology, when he affirmed that the shells
found on mountain-tops had been dropped there by pilgrims
on their return from the crusades. The severe judg-
ment passed by an eminent professor at the College of
France [1] on French grammarians is fully justified:—'La

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[1] M. Bréal, *Discours d'ouverture du cours de grammaire
comparée au Collége de France,* 1864.

grammaire traditionnelle formule ses prescriptions comme les décrets d'une volonté aussi impénétrable que décousue ; la philologie comparée fait glisser dans ces ténèbres un rayon de bon sens, et au lieu d'une docilité machinale elle demande à l'élève une obéissance raisonnable.'

I have illustrated by an example the position that these grammatical facts must be explained by an appeal to history, and that 'the present state of an idiom is but the natural consequence of its previous state, which alone makes it intelligible.' The same remark holds good of words also: thus, we may take, for example, the word *âme*, and seek for its origin. Before we come to any conclusion, let us see whether the history of the word (i.e. the study of the several forms it has successively taken) can throw any light on the problem, and show us which path to follow. The accent on the *a* shows that some letter has been suppressed : in thirteenth-century texts the word is written *amne* ; in the eleventh century it is *aneme* ; in the tenth we find *anime*, which leads us without a moment's hesitation to anima. Thus is history the guiding-line of philology, and there is not a single broken link in the long chain which connects the French with the Latin language.

When we first look at it, the distance between *âme* and anima, between the French of Voltaire and the peasant Latin, seems great enough ; and yet it has needed only a series of infinitely small changes spread over a very long period to connect the two words indissolubly with one another. Nature, wasteful of time, is sparing of effort ; with slow and almost imperceptible modifications she arrives at results apparently far from her starting-point[1].

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[1] M. G. Paris.

To history, regarded as an instrument of philology, comparison must be added as a precious ally. By comparison theories are proved, hypotheses verified. Thus, in the example we have already cited, the comparison of the Italian and Spanish *alma* with the French *âme* gives absolute certainty to the hypothesis which we have set forth.

Armed with this double method, the historical and the comparative, an illustrious German, Friedrich Diez, wrote (A.D. 1836 to 1842) a comparative grammar of the five languages which spring from Latin[1]: he showed according to what laws they were formed from the Latin. Starting from the philological principles laid down by him, Bartsch, and Mätzner in Germany, and in France Littré, Guessard, P. Meyer, and G. Paris, have applied his principles to the French language in particular, and by means of many detailed investigations have thrown fresh light upon its origin[2].

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[1] The Germans call these five (Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Wallachian) the Romance languages; the name is clear and convenient, has been fully accepted in scientific terminology, and will be employed throughout this book.

[2] The work of these French philologers is far from being equally good: to say nothing of the very unequal compilation published by M. Ampère, or of M. Chevallet's book, an admirable work in its day, but now out of date, we must regard with real sorrow the success which welcomed not so long ago M. Génin's work (*Variations de la langue française*), a collection of paradoxes and startling effects, performed by a juggler with words, whose business it is to astonish a dazzled audience. M. Génin was clever enough to know that his French readers would always prefer a well-turned epigram to a dry truth, and though he had never in his life read a single line of German, he was ever ready with a pleasantry—rather stale perhaps, but still always applauded in France—on 'the nebulous lucubrations of German brains.' He forgot that a *bon mot* does not do for an argument, and that in scientific matters it is no question of French or German ideas, but of right and wrong ones.

In spite of these incessant efforts, the principles of French philology, scarcely recognised even by the learned, are still utterly unknown to the great majority of the literary public. My aim in this little book is to spread the knowledge of these results by freeing them from their scientific dress, and by making them accessible to a wider circle of readers. I have accordingly endeavoured to gather into a small volume the chief laws which have guided the formation of the French tongue. This is the only novelty I have to offer : for such works are not uncommon, at any rate outside of France. The German and English languages have won their place in colleges and schools in Germany and England, where they stand by the side of Greek and Latin[1]; the French language has not as yet (A.D. 1867) penetrated into French colleges, even as a branch of higher education.

M. Fourtoul, who, among a number of mistakes, hit on several happy discoveries, ordered in 1853 that comparative grammar should be taught in the upper classes of the Lyceum—a step towards the study of the French language which was reversed by his successor. This is much to be regretted, especially since the present ministry[2], which has ceased to insist on the study of Greek and Latin, and has established industrial or technical education side by side with literary training, ought all the more to have strengthened the latter by introducing the study of the three languages,

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[1] It will be enough to cite two elementary works, the numerous editions of which prove their success : in England, Gleig's *History of the English Language*, in his *School Series*; in Germany, Vilmar's *German Historical Grammar*, intended for the higher forms in the Gymnasia (*Anfangsgründe der deutschen Grammatik, zunächst für die obersten Klassen der Gymnasien*, by Dr. Vilmar, 6th Edition, 1864).

[2] Written in 1867.

Greek, Latin, and French, together with that of the three national literatures.

One Frenchman, M. Monjean, Director of the Chaptal College, has ventured to introduce a course of lectures on the history of the French language in his rhetoric class, with the very best results. May his example embolden the University of Paris to spread among the higher classes of our schools the results which have been indisputably obtained by science! My object will have been gained if my modest manual of philology can in any way hasten this result.

I cannot hope, where three volumes would scarcely suffice, to set forth a complete historical grammar in two hundred modest pages. I have therefore, as far as possible, laid aside all secondary matters and points of detail, and have thought it enough to set forth essential laws and fundamental principles, so as not to overstep the limits of space which I have imposed on myself.

I must also warn my reader that the subject of this book is not the grammar of Old French. The French language in its medieval state finds a place in it only so far as it illustrates Modern French (if I may apply to my little book what M. Littré said of his Historical Dictionary). Present usage depends on ancient usage, and can only be explained by it. Modern French without Old French is a tree without roots; Old French by itself is a tree without branches or leaves: the separation of the two is an injustice to both—an injustice constantly done to them up to the present time; and their proper combination is the only originality claimed for this book, and gives it its sole right to be called a Historical Grammar.

The book is in two distinct parts: first, the Introduction,

which sketches the history of the French language, of its formation, and of its elements; and secondly, the Historical Grammar, which deals with the Letters (Book I), the Inflexions (Book II), and the Formation of Words (Book III).

Finally, I must express my gratitude to MM. Egger, Littré, and Ernest Renan, Members of the Institute, who have kindly given me the advantage of their advice and encouragement; to M. Émile Lemoine, formerly pupil of the École Polytechnique; last of all and most of all, to MM. Paul Meyer and G. Paris, whose friendship has strengthened me for my task. If this book has any value, it is to them that it is due.

<div style="text-align: right;">AUGUSTE BRACHET.</div>

May 6, 1867.

[The English translation has had throughout the great benefit of the counsel and oversight of Professor Max Müller, to whom hearty thanks are due for the interest he has taken in its welfare.

There are a few Latin words in the work marked with an asterisk, as **testonem** *; these are late and unclassical.]

INTRODUCTION.

I.

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

Caesar tells us that he found in Gaul three races, differing in speech, manners, and laws: the Belgae in the north, the Aquitani between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, and in the centre the Gallic or Celtic race. The Belgae and the Celts were in reality of the same stock, while the Aquitani were partly Iberians (that is, dwellers on the banks of the Ebro), and their language has perhaps survived in the Basque or *Euskarian* tongue.

Thus then almost all the soil of France was occupied by Celts, who were so named from one of their most important confederations; they were men tall and fair, eager for excitement and noise, men whose ambition was to fight well and to speak well. 'The Gauls,' says Cato the Elder, 'give themselves passionately to two things, debate of arms and debate of speech.' Their civilisation, which was fairly advanced in point of industry and agriculture, and was an example of an original and interesting political organisation, might have developed into a condition of things yet more important, had it not been cut short and rendered powerless by the Roman conquest[1]. For how many ages did they inhabit Gaul?

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[1] It may be stated in passing that the stone monuments called *celtiques* in France (dol-men, men-hir, etc.) clearly do not come

What was it that drove them to the shores of the ocean? There is no reply[1]; for the Gauls could not write, and their authentic history begins from the moment when Gaul laid down her independence at the feet of those Roman conquerors, to whom we are indebted for the scattered knowledge we possess as to the life, social condition, manners, religion of the conquered race: it may with truth be said that the history of Gaul begins on the very day on which she ceases to have an independent existence.

Some six hundred years before the Christian era Marseilles was founded not far from the mouths of the Rhone by Phocaean refugees. This city, thanks to her relations with Rome, was destined to be the beginning of woes to the people of Gaul. She called in the Romans to defend her against the Ligurians in B.C. 153. The Romans seized the Rhone valley; and thence, in Caesar's time, passed on to conquer the rest of the land. The Celts resisted bravely,

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from the Celts; nor had these so-styled *Druidic* stones the slightest relation to the Druids. Worsaae in Denmark and M. Prosper Mérimée in France have proved that these monuments belong to a more ancient period of human life, and that no Indo-Germanic people have ever built in that manner. These monuments are also to be met with in all the north of Africa, and in the extreme north of Europe as well as in its western districts.

[1] On the other hand, philology has been able to prove with certainty whence they came and to what race they belonged. By a comparison of the Celtic, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Gothic, and Sanskrit languages, the learned have shown that these tongues are six branches of one trunk, the *Aryan,* a language which has now disappeared, but was spoken thousands of years ago on the banks of the Oxus; and as the relation of languages proves the relation of races, so it is certain that between the fortieth and the twentieth century before our era, the Aryans quitted Bactria and the plains of Central Asia and came towards Europe, and separating into different districts formed the Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, Greek, and Latin peoples. And thus the fact that their speech is one of the Indo-European languages has revealed to us what is the true origin of the Gauls.

burning their villages, destroying their crops and provisions, and rendering their country a desert, in hopes thereby to starve out the enemy. It was only by force of terror that Caesar could subdue them : he massacred ten thousand women and children at Bourges ; slew the heads of a tribe at Vannes, and sold the rest by auction ; cut off all his prisoners' hands at Uxellodunum. After eight years of this atrocious and horrible warfare Gaul was subdued, and Rome began to administer her conquest.

The chief secret of Roman foreign politics lay in the perfection of her iron system of colonisation. She had two engines by which to hold down a conquered province,— first, she set military colonies round the frontier, so as to isolate the conquest from all external influences ; and, secondly, within that circle of iron she established an energetic 'administration,' which soon broke up all local resistance. The language and religion of the conqueror were forced on the subject : all resistance was crushed by extermination or deportation [1], and the void was then filled up with colonists and freedmen from Rome.

By this method conquerors and conquered were in a few years completely welded into one mass. Within a century after the conquest, Latin was spoken throughout Gaul. But this Latin, brought in by colonists and soldiers, was very unlike the Latin of Vergil : it was distinguished from the classical or written Latin by peculiarities of vocabulary and of inflexion which demand our attention.

It is a first law of history that every language (just like the nation that uses it) is one at first, and presently splits into two parts—the speech of the noble and the speech of the people. After a certain time the different habits of each class completely break up the original unity of the language ;

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[1] Caesar boasts that he is coining money by the sale of a million of Gauls as slaves.

and thus every language has its epoch of division, which comes when the nation opens its eyes to art and poetry—in a word, to culture and literature. From that time the nation may be divided into two great classes, the lettered and the unlettered, the *patrician* and the *plebeian*.

The Latin language underwent this same division at the time of the second Punic war. The separation increased as time went on. Greek art and Greek manners, introduced into good Roman society by the Scipios, and the reduction of Greece to the position of a Roman province, brought the Greek language into fashion. From this time the gulf between the popular and the classical Latin widened suddenly, and the upper classes at Rome foisted into the literary language a crowd of purely Greek words utterly unknown to the popular idiom[1]. These words, marks of breeding, if servile copies of the Greek, remained as strange to the common people as the aristocratic French-English terms 'turf,' 'sport,' 'steeple-chase,' &c., or the technical terms of science, 'diluvium,' 'stratification,' 'ornithologie,' &c., are to the French peasantry at the present day. These borrowed words widened the breach between the literary and the popular Latin, a difference which ever increased, until the 'sermo nobilis,' the literary, aristocratic, 'classical' Latin, became in Caesar's day entirely distinct from the 'sermo plebeius,' or 'rusticus,' the 'castrense verbum,' as authors disdainfully styled it, the Latin of the people and the camp.

Each had its own grammatical forms and vocabulary. For example, 'to strike' is **verberare** in literary Latin; the popular Latin said **batuere**: the French words *cheval, semaine, aider, doubler, bataille*, &c., were, in the classical Latin, **equus, hebdomas, juvare, duplicare, pugna**; in the popular, **cabállus, septimána, adjutáre, duplá re, batuália.**

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[1] As ἀμφιθέατρον, ἱππόδρομος, ἐφίππιον, φιλοσοφία, γεωγραφία, &c.

The popular Latin was unwritten, and we might have remained ignorant of its existence had not the Roman grammarians revealed it to us by exhorting their students to avoid as low and trivial certain expressions which, they tell us, were in common vulgar use. Thus Cassiodorus tells us that the feigned combats of gladiators and exercise-drill of the army were called batália, 'Quae *vulgo* batalia dicuntur, exercitationes gladiatorum vel militum significant.' **Pugna** was the literary term, batalia the popular; pugna has disappeared, batalia has survived in *bataille*. The pedants of that day could not foresee that the literary idiom, which they admired so much, would one day disappear; and that the despised popular Latin would reign instead, parent of the Italian, French, and Spanish, and strong enough to bear the weight of the literatures of three great nations.

Imported into Gaul by soldiers and colonists, the popular idiom soon made itself at home, and, even in the first century of the Christian era, had supplanted the Celtic speech, except in Armorica and a few isolated spots. A hundred years after the conquest, women and children used to sing Latin songs; and so universal became the use of the language, that in Strabo's time the Celt was no longer regarded as a Barbarian[1]. The lengthy sojourn of the Legions, the incessant influx of colonists, the necessity of pleading in Latin before the Roman tribunals, the conversion of the people to Christianity, and lastly, the natural vivacity and love of change[2] which distinguish the Celt, also contributed to the adoption by the Gallic people of the language of their conquerors.

At the same time that the Gallic people thus accepted the

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[1] That is, the test of language (implied in the word Barbarian) placed the Gaul on the same footing as the average Roman colonist.

[2] See Caes. B. G. 4. 5.

common Latin, the upper classes in Gaul, fired by ambition, burned to adopt the literary dialect; they practised rhetoric, and hoped to rise to political distinction. From the days of Augustus, Gaul became a nursery for rhetoricians and grammarians; the schools of Autun, Bordeaux, and Lyons were renowned throughout the Empire. Pliny boasts that his works were known throughout Gaul [1]. Caesar admitted Gauls into the Senate; Claudius made them eligible for all public offices, on the sole condition that they knew Latin. It is easy to understand why the Gallic noble forgot his mother-tongue.

That tongue disappeared from Gaul, leaving but a few faint traces to prove that it had once existed. Thus the Romans remarked that the bird they called **galerita** was called **alauda** in Gaul; that beer, in Graeco-Latin **zythum**, was **cervisia** in Gallic: they introduced the words into their own tongue, and these late Latin words, passing six centuries later into French, produced the words *alouette* [2] and *cervoise.* These and a few other isolated words, together with certain names of places, are all that the French language owes to the Gallic; and indeed, if we speak more exactly, the French has borrowed nothing from it, since these words passed through an intermediate Latin stage, and therefore did not come directly from the Gallic. And even these cases are so very rare, that it may almost be affirmed that the influence of the Celtic tongue on the French has been inappreciable.

Thus, while the French nation is really Celtic in race, its language has kept only a trifling number of words of Gallic origin: a very remarkable fact, which shows, better than any

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[1] Pliny, Ep. 9. 2.
[2] Alauda did not pass directly into *alouette*, but into the O. Fr. *aloue*, of which *alouette* is the diminutive.

history could show, what a strong absorbent was the Roman power.

The Celtic language had scarcely accepted its defeat [1],

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[1] The Celtic language, thrust by the Romans back into Armorica, survived in that isolated district for centuries, and was revived by an immigration of Kymri from Wales in the seventh century. The Bretons also resisted the Frank as successfully as they had withstood the Roman ; and what is now called the Low Breton patois is nothing but the direct descendant of the Celtic language. It has a considerable literature of tales, songs, and plays, which however date back only as far as the fourteenth century. But the language, living thus for a thousand years 'in extremis,' naturally deviated far from the primitive Celtic tongue : for, beside the natural corruption and degradation of eighteen centuries, it has been forced as a patois to admit into its ranks a crowd of foreign, that is, of French, terms ; and consequently the Breton tongue has in many cases two distinct forms or words to express the same idea, the one ancient and of Celtic origin, the other more modern, borrowed from the French, and dressed up with a Celtic termination. Thus in Breton we have for

just	*egwirion*	or *just,*
secretly	*ekuz*	or *secretament,*
troubled	*enkrezet*	or *troublet,*
anger	*buanégez*	or *coler,* and so on.

Here the middle column is composed of old Celtic words ; the third of corrupted French words. It would not have been necessary to insist on so elementary a truth, had not adventurous spirits in the eighteenth century, struck with their resemblance to French words, jumped to the conclusion that these importations from the French were really the origin of the French language. Le Brigant and the illustrious La Tour d'Auvergne, whose extravagance as a philosopher was only equalled by his excellence as a patriot, supported this opinion. Great would have been their amazement had they learnt that the contrary was the case, and that *just, secretament, troublet,* etc., instead of being the parents of the French language and the primitive Celtic words, are only corrupted French words, disguised with Celtic endings. Voltaire called this etymological folly Celto-mania : its followers amused the world by extravagant assertions—that Celtic was the original speech of Paradise ; that Adam, Eve, the serpent, all spoke Low Breton. These errors have had a still worse result ; for they have cast unmerited discredit on all Celtic studies.

when the Latin, from this time forth the true mistress of
Gaul, had to undergo a fresh struggle, and repel a new
assailant. The invasion of the German tribes set in. As
far back as the second century after Christ, the barbarians,
beginning slowly to filter through into Gaul, silently under-
mined the dykes of the Roman Empire, and prepared for
the final bursting of the barriers, and the terrible inunda-
tion of the fifth century.

To protect northern Gaul against these German inva-
sions the Romans garrisoned its frontiers with a chain of
legions or military colonies ; and when these veterans were
no longer able to defend the sanctity of the Roman territory,
the Romans employed an expedient which kept the great
invasion at bay for a whole century, and for a few years at
least gave peace to the Empire. They allowed the barbarians
to settle in northern Gaul, and by thus attaching them to
the Empire, made them a new and durable barrier against
all further invasions. These were the **Leti**[1], colonies of
barbarians who recognised the nominal sovereignty of the
Emperors, and enjoyed lands granted them under a kind of
military tenure. At the same time the Emperors hired Franks,
Burgundians, and Alans, to fill up the blanks in their legions.

The consequence was an ever-increasing introduction of
German words into the common Latin ; these terms, as was
natural, being chiefly connected with warfare. Vegetius, in
his work 'De re militari,' tells us that the Roman soldiers
gave the name of **burgus** to a fortified post[2]. This is the
German *Burg*. Thus, nearly a century before Clovis, Ger-
man terms had got into the Latin language : it is clear that,
a century later, when the Western Empire is disappearing,
this influence will greatly increase in strength.

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[1] Probably a form of the modern German *Leute*. See Du
Cange.
[2] 'Castellum parvum, quod **burgum** vocant.'

But before we describe the effect of this grand historical event on the language, we must first note down the chief features of the Latin which was current during the last ages of the Empire. A century after the Roman conquest Gaul was flourishing and prosperous. The Latin language in its two forms pursued a tranquil and parallel course—the common dialect in cities and in the fields, the literary tongue among the aristocracy and middle classes. In the second century after Christ, the time of the highest splendour of Roman Gaul, the popular dialect was in the shade, while literary Latin shone with great brilliancy; the Gallic schools produced lawyers and rhetoricians: and, as Juvenal says, ' Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos [1].'

But in the fifth century, just before the German invasion, the scene is very different : the two dialects have changed places in the three centuries that have elapsed; literary Latin is dying; the popular dialect spreads widely, and this even before the invasion of A.D. 407 had given to Gaul her deathblow. The institution of the ' Curials,' which caused the downfall of the burghers in the cities, was fatal to literature and the literary dialect. The Curials, being at once both city-magistrates and tax-gatherers, became absolutely responsible for the proper payment of the town's quota into the imperial treasury : if there was a deficit or any falling off, their private property was seized and sold, to make up the difference ; and thus reduced to hopeless poverty, the poor Curials took refuge in the woods, or went and sold themselves as slaves. The better classes perished, schools were everywhere shut up, literary culture came to an immediate stop, and ignorance speedily recovered all the ground she had lost. From this time the use of the written Latin, a dialect which lived only in books and by tradition, was

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[1] Satires, xv. 111.

confined to the Gallo-Roman nobles, a handful of men who transmitted to their children a petrified unchanging idiom, which had no life, and was destined to perish with them, when their time came. And here again popular Latin gained by the losses of the literary dialect.

Though mined by its fiscal extravagances, the Empire yet survived some years, thanks to the power of its administration, and the strength which is inherent in every regular organisation. At last, however, its final hour arrived; the Franks, Burgundians, Alans, Visigoths, fell on it, and overthrew with ease the great image whose feet were of clay: the monument which Caesar had erected fell less than five centuries after his death. In the crash, administration, justice, aristocracy, literature, all perished, and with them the learned language [1] which they had employed. It had been

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[1] M. Meyer says well that 'the invasion of the Barbarians irrevocably fixed the gulf between these two idioms, between the common Latin, the mistress of Gaul, ready to be the mother of the French language, and the literary dialect, a dead language, used only by the learned, and destined to have no influence in the formation of modern languages. This dialect was kept up by Gregory of Tours, Fredegarius, the literary renaissance under Charlemagne, and by scholasticism; it was perpetuated in learned use, and in the sixteenth century experienced, after the great renaissance, a kind of artificial resurrection. Even in our own day it is the official language of the Roman Catholic Church, and, until quite lately, was the language of the learned, especially in Germany.'
After the invasion under the Merovingian kings, the public personages, notaries or clergy, too ignorant to write literary Latin correctly, too proud to use the common Latin in their documents, and eager to imitate the fine style of Roman officials, wrote 'a sort of jargon, which is neither literary Latin nor popular Latin, but a strange mixture of both, with the common dialect more or less preponderant, according to the ignorance of the writer.' This jargon is what is called Low Latin. It continued to be the language of the French administration up to 1539, when Francis I ordered French to be used in all public acts. This distinction between *Low Latin*, a gross and barren imitation of the Roman literary dialect, and *Popular Latin*, the

born with them, and was destined to follow all the vicissitudes of their history. Then the common dialect grew strong on its ruins, and entirely supplanted it. If proof of this were needed, we should find it in the fact that wherever the literary and the common dialect used two different words for the same thing, the French language has invariably taken the latter and thrown aside the former: an absolute proof that the literary dialect was confined to the upper classes, was born and perished with them, and throughout was a dead letter to the common folk. Illustrations are innumerable: thus—

LITERARY LATIN.	POPULAR LATIN.	FRENCH.
Hebdomas	septimana	*semaine*
		(O. Fr. *sepmaine*)
Equus	caballus	*cheval*
Verberare	batuere	*battre*
Pugna	batalia	*bataille*
Osculari	basiare	*baiser*
Iter	viaticum	*voyage*
Verti	tornare	*tourner*
Urbs	villa	*ville*
Os	bucca	*bouche*
Felis	catus	*chat*
Duplicare	duplare	*doubler*
Sinere	laxare	*laisser*
Tentamen	exagium	*essai*
Gulosus	glutonem	*glouton*
Jus	directus (drictus)	*droit*

living language of the people, and parent of the French tongue, must not be forgotten. It should be added that there is, besides, a second kind of Low Latin, that of the middle ages, which reproduced French words in a servile way: as, for example, **missaticum** produced the French *message*; and again *message* was retranslated into **messagium**.

LITERARY LATIN.	POPULAR LATIN.	FRENCH.
Minae	minaciae	*menace*
Edere	manducare	*manger*
Ignis	focus	*feu*
Ludus	jocus	*jeu*
Aula	curtem	*cour*
&c.	&c.	&c.

These examples show how incorrect it is to say that French is classical Latin corrupted by an intermixture of popular forms; it is, on the contrary, the popular Latin alone. And this is true wherever the invasion of the barbarians destroyed the literary dialect. The Italian, the Spanish, the Portuguese languages, are, like the French, only the products of the slow development of the common Roman speech. Hence the striking likeness often noticed between these four idioms, the four neo-Latin or Romance languages, these sister-tongues—

'Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.'

When the Germans destroyed in Gaul the imperial administration, and stamped out all its culture, they also killed the literary dialect; but the common Latin was the gainer: eventually it succeeded in absorbing even its conquerors; it compelled them to forget their own language, and to adopt that of their subjects; thereby it proved once more the energy of the Roman character and its great assimilative power.

There were, besides, many causes which led to this result: first, the numerical paucity of the Franks, a few bands of men, scarcely more than twelve thousand in all, in the midst of six millions of Gallo-Romans; next, if the Franks had not accepted the Latin, what could they have taken for their common tongue? Each German tribe had its own

dialect, Frankish, Burgundian, Gothic, &c., and there was no common German language. Lastly, the conversion of the Franks to Christianity, which, as it were, bound them over to learn Latin, may be reckoned as the special cause which made the adoption of Latin a necessity.

The Neustrian Franks were all eager to study the Gallo-Roman speech; and, less than a century after the invasion, Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, congratulated Haribert on the great success of his efforts in this direction:

> 'Qualis es in propria docto sermone loquela
>   Qui nos Romano vincis in eloquio?'

At Strasburg, in the year 842, Ludwig the German takes an oath in French in the presence of the army of Charles the Bald; a clear proof that the Caroling soldiers no longer understood German. In the next century, when Hrolf swore fealty to Charles the Simple (A.D. 911), he had scarcely begun the formula with the words 'Bi Got' (In God's name) when all the company of lords burst out laughing; so utterly was German forgotten, that it actually sounded ridiculous and barbarous in their ears.

It is needless to multiply proofs of the rapidity with which the German settlers in France lost their mother-tongue: it must, on the other hand, be remembered that though the German language failed to supplant the Latin, still it inflicted a severe wound on it, by compelling it to adopt a great number of German words employed to designate those new institutions which the Franks brought in with them. And in fact this intrusion of Germanic terms was inevitable. How could the Latin represent such ideas as those involved in the words *vassal, alleu, fief,* &c.? When the feudal institutions of the Germanic tribes replaced the monarchical, unified and centralised organisation of the Roman Empire, the barbarian conquerors were bound to introduce at the

same time the terms required to express this new revolution:
consequently, all words relating to political or judicial func-
tions, and all titles in the feudal hierarchy, are of German
origin.   The German words *mahal, bann, alôd, skepeno,
marahscalh, siniscalh,* &c., thus introduced into the Low
Latin, became **mallum, bannum, alodium, scabinus, mari-
scallus, siniscallus,** &c., whence, several centuries later, they
passed into the French language as *mall, bann, alleu, échevin,
maréchal, sénéchal,* &c.

Still more is this the case with war terms.   The Franks
long reserved for themselves, as a privileged class, the warlike
profession, and the Gallo-Romans adopted into their Latin
speech those terms of warfare which they daily heard their
masters using : as *halsberc,* which became first **halsberga,**
then *haubert*; *helm,* **helmus,** *heaume*; *heriberg,* **herebergum,**
auberge, &c.   There are upwards of nine hundred such words
which thus passed from the German into Latin, and thence
into French.   And yet this invasion was little more than an
accidental and superficial perturbation of the growth of the
language, for it touched the vocabulary only : there are no
traces of German influence on French syntax.

Still, common Latin was greatly affected by this sudden
inroad of barbarous words : the vocabulary became less and
less like that of the literary dialect; the syntax still further
widened the breach.   Those analytical tendencies which
have grown so strong in modern languages, and which are
indicated by the use of the prepositions **de** and **ad** instead
of inflected cases to mark *possession* and *aim,* soon showed
themselves in popular Latin.   Where the literary dialect said
' Do panem *Petro,*' or ' equus *Petri,*' popular Latin said ' Do
panem *ad Petrum,*' ' caballus *de Petro* ' ; and in like manner
auxiliaries were introduced in the conjugation of verbs[1].

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[1] See below, p. 118, sqq.

Thus modified in syntax, and augmented in vocabulary, popular Latin became a new language completely distinct from literary Latin; and men of culture in Merovingian times disdainfully called it the 'lingua romana rustica,' the Peasant-Latin.

Its position as a new and independent language is attested early and often. Church writers give us the first proofs of it, as we should expect: for the Church, through her missionaries and her priests, first addressed the people; and in order to be understood, she must use their language. Thus, as early as A.D. 660, St. Mummolinus is elected Bishop of Noyon, because he can speak both German and Romance[1]. We read in the life of St. Adalhard, Abbot of Corby in A.D. 750, that he preached in the popular tongue 'with a sweet fluency'; and his biographer gives us still more clearly the distinction between the two languages by going on to say that, 'When St. Adalhard spoke the *common*, that is, the *Roman* tongue, you would have thought he knew no other: if he spoke German, he was still more brilliant; but if he used the *Latin*, he spoke it quite as well as either of the others[2].'

Thus in the lifetime of Charles the Great (as we see from this passage), the people understood no Latin, and the Church had taken to preaching and teaching in French. There has come to light by a fortunate chance a fragment of a glossary, called the *Glosses of Reichenau*[3], which, though it does not give us a specimen of a translation of the Bible, at any rate has preserved an explanation of some of the more

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[1] 'Quia praevalebat non tantum in Teutonica, sed etiam in *Romana lingua.*'

[2] 'Qui si vulgari, id est, *Romana lingua*, loqueretur, omnium aliarum putaretur inscius: si vero Teutonica, enitebat perfectius; si *Latina*, in nulla omnino absolutius.'—*Acta Sanctorum*, i. 416.

[3] Because it was discovered in 1863 by M. Holtzmann in a MS. in the Library at Reichenau.

difficult words; it was written about A.D. 768 (the year of
the accession of Charles the Great), and is of the highest
value for the philologer.   The words are written in two
columns; on the left the Latin (Vulgate), on the right the
French : thus—

LATIN.	FRENCH (of the 8th cent.)	[MODERN FRENCH.
Minas	*Manatces*	*Menaces*
Galea	*Helmo*	*Heaume*
Tugurium	*Cabanna*	*Cabane*
Singulariter	*Solamente*	*Seulement*
Caementarii	*Macioni*	*Maçons*
Sindones	*Linciolo*	*Linceul*
Sagma	*Soma*	*Somme*]
&c.		&c.

This most interesting fragment, rough as it may appear,
is of the highest interest; for it is the first written monu-
ment of the French language, eleven hundred years old. The
translation into modern French, in the right-hand column,
shows at a glance the distance between this still unformed
dialect and the French of the present day.

This fragment also proves, in the most incontestable way,
a fact which we already knew from indirect testimony, that
the inhabitants of France spoke French in the days of
Charles the Great; in fact, the Emperor himself found it
necessary to try to speak the language of his subjects.

And while Eginhard, Alcuin, Angilbert, and all the culti-
vated class of that day affected to despise this half-formed
patois, the Church, which had never been afraid of using
this vulgar speech, quickly took in its whole importance,
and instead of resisting it and clinging to literary Latin, set
herself to make a skilful use of the new movement. Hitherto
she had but tolerated, or perhaps patronised, the study of

this vulgar tongue by priests and missionaries; now, towards the end of the reign of Charles the Great, she did more: she ordered the clergy to study it; for this had become necessary, seeing that the people no longer understood Latin. In A.D. 813 the Council of Tours bade all priests expound the Holy Scriptures in the ' Romance,' and the preachers use henceforward this French tongue in their pulpits.

Thus the Church recognised the existence of this new language, and confessed that Latin was dead and gone from among the people; and when once she had settled this point, she carried it out to its natural results with her habitual perseverance. After the Council of Tours, the Councils of Rheims in A.D. 813, of Strasburg in A.D. 842, and of Arles in A.D. 851, incessantly renewed the order to preachers to preach in French, until the vulgar tongue was everywhere substituted for the Latin. Under the all-powerful patronage of the Church, it gained ground rapidly; so much so that five-and-twenty years after the death of Charles the Great, it was used as the language of political negotiation in the famous Strasburg Oaths which Ludwig the German took to his brother Charles the Bald, and Charles' army took to Ludwig the German, in March, A.D. 842. Nithard, the nephew of Charles the Great, has preserved these Oaths in his *History of the Franks*, written about A.D. 843, at the command of Charles the Bald, his intimate friend.

I. Oath taken by Ludwig the German.

Old French.	*Modern French.*
Pro Deo amur, et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, d'ist di en avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai	Pour l'amour de Dieu et pour le salut du peuple chrétien et notre commun salut, de ce jour en avant, autant que Dieu me donne savoir et

eo cist meon fradre Karlo et in adjudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dist, in o quid il mi altresi fazet ; et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karlo in damno sit.

pouvoir, je sauverai mon frère Charles et en aide et en chaque chose (ainsi qu'on doit, selon la justice, sauver son frère), à condition qu'il en fasse autant pour moi ; et je ne ferai avec Lothaire aucun accord qui, par ma volonté, porte préjudice à mon fière Charles ici présent.

II. Oath of the Soldiers of Charles the Bald.

Old French.

Si Lodhuwigs sagrament que son fradre Karlo jurat, conservat, et Karlus meos sendra de sua part non los tanit, si io returnar non l'int pois, ne io, ne neuls cui eo returnar int pois, in nulla adjudha contra Lodhuwig nun li iv er.

Modern French.

Si Louis garde le serment qu'il a juré à son frère Charles, et que Charles mon maître, de son côté, ne le tienne pas, se je ne l'en puis détourner, ni moi, ni nul que j'en puis détourner, ne lui serai en aide contre Louis.

Next after the Reichenau Glosses, these oaths are the oldest monuments of the French language : and their value is incalculable for students of the linguistic origin of the Romance tongues ; for we here catch, as it were, the Latin language in the moment of transformation into French. The importance of this will appear in the course of this book : it is sufficient to remark here that the Frankish army clearly had lost all knowledge of Latin or German ; otherwise Ludwig, the Emperor, would never have taken oath to them in French.

From this time the vulgar tongue took, once and for all,

the place of the Latin, which the people no longer understood. In common use during the two preceding centuries, officially acknowledged by the Church in A.D. 813 and by the State in A.D. 842, it increased in importance, and soon broke out into poetry. In the ninth century appears a poem in French verse on the martyrdom of St. Eulalia; in the tenth century we find two short poems, the one on the Passion, the other on the life of St. Leger of Autun. These are the first poetic attempts of the language—attempts of the highest value for the history of the language, as well as for the history of French poetry, which here finds the first stammering utterances of its infancy.

These two centuries, the ninth and tenth, in which the later Caroling kings came to a wretched end, seem at first sight barren and desolate; yet they are in reality a most fertile epoch in the opening of French national life: at this time the true nationality of France began, and with it came a national language, poetry, and Christian art. All these things spring from the people, not from the princes. The pretentious chroniclers of the time describe the last moments of the decrepit Caroling dynasty; they pass over without a notice the fresh life and creative energy which were beginning to reanimate what seemed to be the worn-out powers of society[1].

From the tenth century begins the real life of the French nation, evidenced and guaranteed by the growth of a language

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[1] This birth of the French language in a historical age well known to us is of the highest importance: we learn from it how such languages as Latin and Greek (which we know only in their full age) came first into being. And when our histories relate in full the obscure quarrels and struggles of obscure princes and give us no details respecting this great event, we see clearly that true history has not yet found its way into the school-room. See M. Littré, *Histoire de la Langue Française*, i. 260, and the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Feb. 15, 1867.

of its own ; for a people cannot be said to have a really
independent existence till it has a language to itself: the
effects of the Roman domination were then long past, and
the invasions of the barbarians were over [1].   On the ruins of
that splendid and vain attempt the Caroling empire, feudalism,
a new form of social life half-way between ancient slavery
and modern freedom, will flourish for six centuries.

As the use of the French speech increased, the knowledge
of Latin, up to this time generally employed by the upper
classes, steadily diminished.   Hugh Capet knew no language
but French : when he had an interview with the Emperor
Otto II, who spoke to him in Latin, he was obliged to
get one of the bishops to act as interpreter.   Even in the
monasteries, where it had been most generally employed,
Latin ceased to be used after the eleventh century; and
many priests knew nothing but French.

Thus at last Latin was abandoned even by the upper
classes; they had clung to it for three centuries after it had
died out of common use.

Forthwith there sprang up, between the eleventh and the
thirteenth centuries, a thoroughly original poetical literature :
graceful or brilliant lyrics and high epics, of which the
'Chanson de Roland' is the most perfect example, were
written, and became exceedingly popular in other countries
as well as at home.   In Germany, Italy, and Spain, the
French poems and romances were translated or imitated.
This enthusiasm of foreigners in the twelfth century, which
answers to the admiration of Europe for the French litera-
ture of the age of Louis XIV, is the highest proof of its

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[1] The last invasion ended with the establishment of the
Northmen in north-western France.   Their numbers were small:
they forgot their own tongue, and adopted that of their subjects.
A century after Hrolf's death Normandy was celebrated for the
excellence of her French.

artistic value and originality. The power of French litera-
ture over foreign thought and style would form an admirable
subject for an essay in literary history. The medieval glories
of the twelfth, the modern brilliancy of the seventeenth
century, would be seen to be the two great epochs of this
wide-reaching influence.

And not only the French literature, but the French lan-
guage also, from the thirteenth century onwards, becomes
well known to and accepted by neighbouring nations. The
Norman conquest imposed the French tongue on England ;
in Germany Frederick II and his court were familiar with
French poetry ; in Italy French was generally known and
used ; Marco-Polo wrote his travels in it ; Brunetto Latini,
Dante's master, composed his *Trésor de Sapience* in it,
'because the French is the most delectable and most common
tongue.' From every quarter of Europe students flocked to
the University of Paris, and two medieval Latin lines testify
to the fact:

> 'Filii nobilium, dum sunt juniores,
> Mittuntur in Franciam fieri doctores.'

This was so commonly done, that the scholarly Benvenuto
da Imola complained, towards the close of the fourteenth
century, that 'he was astonished and indignant to see the
Italian nobles all striving to copy French manners, despising
their own tongue and learning French, and admiring nothing
but French books.'

What, then, is this French language which Europe valued
so highly and was so proud to learn in the thirteenth century ?
Let us once more go back to the beginnings of it.

It is a well-known fact that the first cause of the phonetic
changes and transformations of language lies in the structure
of the vocal organs ; or, in other words, in difference of pro-
nunciation ; and this again results from difference of race.
Thus the Latin, introduced into Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and

spoken by three different races, each in its own way, was gradually decomposed, as we have seen, into three corresponding languages. In Gaul, popular Latin falling into the hands of two rival races, one in the North and the other in the South, produced two distinct idioms, that of the South, or the 'Langue d'Oc,' and that of the North, called the 'Langue d'Oïl[1].' These curious names spring from the custom, not uncommon in the middle ages, of designating languages by the sign of affirmation; just as Dante calls the Italian 'la lingua di *si*.' The modern French *oui* was *oïl* in the North, and *oc* in the South of France.

The 'Langue d'Oïl,' which prevailed in districts inhabited by populations whose characteristic differences were strongly marked (the Normands, Picards, Burgundians, &c., having their own peculiarities of pronunciation), was broken up in its turn into as many corresponding dialects. And this was the easier, because there was no one capital of the whole kingdom which could lay down laws of style and models of speech for the whole country : when feudalism broke up Gaul into a number of local principalities, each having its own capital and political centre, with its own administration and literature, each great district became independent, with

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[1] A line drawn from La Rochelle to Grenoble will fairly represent the frontiers of the two dialects: north of it we have the 'Langue d'Oïl,' south of it the 'Langue d'Oc.'

This 'Langue d'Oc,' or, as it is now more commonly called, Provençal, from the chief district in which it obtained, was developed alongside of the Northern dialect; and in the twelfth century was the parent of a brilliant lyrical literature.

The rivalry of North and South, which ended in the Albigensian war, and the defeat of the South, destroyed this Provençal literature. In A.D. 1272 Languedoc became French, and the French dialect soon prevailed. The Provençal, Languedoc, and Gascon *patois*, which still remain in the South, are but the fragmentary remains of this 'Langue d'Oc' which was so brilliant a language for two centuries.

its own political and literary life, its own tongue, manners, and customs.

Thus in Normandy or Picardy all official acts and literary works were in the Norman or Picard dialect: the dialect of the Île de France, or French, as it then was called, was regarded in Normandy as almost a foreign language. And thus their political separation led these districts to confirm this division of the language into dialects, a division which sprang originally, however, from a real difference of race.

There were in the middle ages four principal dialects of the 'Langue d'Oïl'—Norman, Picard, Burgundian, and French[1] (the dialect of the Île de France alone), the last lying in the centre of the triangle formed by the other three. These four dialects, which were equal in power and influence, had such marked differences, that even strangers were struck by it: thus, Roger Bacon (who was in France A.D. 1240), when seeking to show in his *Opus Majus* what is meant by the dialects of a language, chooses France as his example. 'The idioms of the same language often vary in different districts, as is clearly the case in France, which has numerous varieties of idiom among the French, the Normans, the Picards, and the Burgundians; and what is correct speech in Picardy, is looked on as a barbarism by the Burgundians, and even by the French[2].'

These differences of dialect, as was the case in Greece, are seen not in the syntax, but only in the forms of words, which were clearly marked off from one another: thus, for

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[1] 'Frenchman,' in the middle ages, was exclusively the name of the inhabitant of the Île de France.

[2] 'Nam et idiomata variantur ejusdem linguae apud diversos, sicut patet de *lingua Gallicana* quae apud *Gallicos*, et *Normannos*, et *Picardos*, et *Burgundos* multiplici variatur idiomate. Et quod proprie dicitur in idiomate Picardorum horrescit apud Burgundos, imo apud Gallicos viciniores.' Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, iii. 44.

example, **amabam** became, in the twelfth century, *amève* in
Burgundy, *amoïe* in the Île de France, and *amoue* in Normandy.
This word shows us how Latin words shrank and became
stiffer as they went northwards : they form a kind of sensitive
thermometer, which falls as we go farther from the South ;
and this, not 'per saltum,' but by gradual change. And
when we see how the texture of the language passes on
without sharp interruptions by slow degradation from clime
to clime, we feel that we have before us a natural pheno-
menon, and that words, like plants, are modified by climate,
or in fact that climate is one of the *factors* of language, as
mathematicians would say.

In the middle ages, these four dialects (like the four Greek
dialects, Ionian, Aeolian, Attic, and Dorian) produced four
distinct literatures : we can easily distinguish a Norman
from a French or a Burgundian writer. It is clear that the
literary character of France in the twelfth century differs
completely from that of our days : while now a single
language offers itself as a model of perfection to be followed
by all writers, we see that under Philip Augustus there were
four distinct and official languages, all of equal authority,
and each within its own province supreme. How did it
come about that the four were reduced to one, and why was
the dialect of the Île de France adopted as the common
tongue rather than the Norman or the Burgundian?

Feudalism, in parcelling out the country, had secured the
independence of the chief districts in politics, language, and
literature ; when, however, feudalism gave place to a central
monarchy, the dialects also fell, and were suppressed by a
central language. The dialect of the dominant province
was sure to become the type of the language of the whole
people.

Thus the language must depend on political movements ;
and the election of Hugh Capet, Duke of France, to be king,

settled the question, and made Paris the capital of France. Still, throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Capetian sovereigns, lords of little but the Île de France and the Orleans territory, had no influence outside the royal domain; and the dialects retained their original vigour and independence, nor did any one of them venture to assert superiority over the others. But by the middle of the thirteenth century the sovereignty of the Capets had grown strong, and with its growth the French dialect also prevailed. The lords of the Île de France are always growing stronger at the expense of their neighbours. In A.D. 1101 Philip I gets Berry; Picardy falls to Philip Augustus in A.D. 1203, and Touraine after it; Normandy follows in A.D. 1204; Languedoc is added in A.D. 1272, and Champagne in A.D. 1361.

The French dialect followed the triumphant progress of the Duke of France, and lorded it over the dialects of the conquered provinces. Thus, to take Picardy as an example, French was first introduced into the official acts of the conquerors, then into literary works, and finally it was adopted by all who wished to be regarded as gentlemen. The people alone resisted and kept their ancient speech; and the Picard, now no longer written, but only spoken by the commons, and subject to incessant alterations, fell from the rank of a *dialect*, that is, of a written and spoken language, to that of a *patois*, that is, of a merely spoken idiom, not recognised by the French literary language.

And so, in less than three centuries, the Norman, the Picard, and the Burgundian dialects were supplanted by that of the Île de France, and became mere *patois* : attentive observation can still discover in them the characteristic marks of those medieval dialects which now survive only in their respective literatures.

Patois are not then, as is commonly believed, a corruption of the literary language in the peasant's mouth : they are

the remains of former provincial dialects, which, thanks to
political causes, have dropped from the rank of official and
literary languages to that of merely spoken tongues. The
history of French *patois* shows us how important they are
for the study of the language ; and the best thanks of philo-
logers are due to the Académie des Inscriptions for the
prizes with which that body has attempted to stimulate the
study of these variations of the French language.

The final triumph of French over the neighbouring dia-
lects was not won without a struggle, in which the victor
received many a wound : a certain number of forms borrowed
from the defeated dialects entered into the French language.
There are words in modern French the origin of which can
be traced to the Norman or the Burgundian ; words not in
complete harmony with the proper analogy of the French,
and therefore easily to be recognised as strangers. 'Though
familiarity leads us to pass over these irregularities without
notice, still when we study the medieval French dialects, we
soon learn to detect the combinations,' which destroy the
uniformity and fair proportion of the language. Thus the
hard **c** of the Latin became *ch* in the Île de France, and *c* in
Picardy : **campus, cantare, carta, castellum, campania,
catus, cappa, cancellus, carricare,** &c., became in the Île
de France *champ, chanter, charte, chastel, champagne, chat,
chappe, chancel, charger,* &c., but in Picardy, *camp, canter,
carte, castel, campagne, cat, cappe, cancel, carguer,* &c. Now
in these instances, though modern French has generally
followed the *ch* form, it has not done so always ; thus it has
taken *campagne* in preference to *champagne.* In a few cases
it has adopted both forms with different senses, though they
are in reality the same word : as from **campus,** *champ* and
camp ; from **cappa,** *chappe* and *cappe* ; from **cancellus,** *chancel*
and *cancel* ; from **carta,** *charte* and *carte* ; from **capsa,** *châsse*
and *caïsse* ; from **castellum,** *château* and *castel* ; from **carri-**

care, *charger* and *carguer*; and so on. The same might be shown to be true in the case of Norman and Burgundian forms; the above, however, form a sufficient example [1].

This transformation was completed in the fourteenth century; the monarchy, so weak three centuries before, became all-powerful, and with it the dialect of the Île de France became supreme; the other dialects ceased to exist, and were represented by *patois*; the French language sprang into existence.

In brief, the popular Latin, transported into Gaul, produced, eight centuries later, the 'Langue d'Oïl,' of which one division or dialect, that of the Île de France, supplanted all the rest, and, in the fourteenth century, became the French language [2]. The same process went on in the

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[1] Such double forms as *fleurir* and *florir*, *grincer* and *grincher*, *attaquer* and *attacher*, *écorcher* and *écorcer*, *laisser* and *lâcher*, *charrier* and *charroyer*, *plier* and *ployer*, are also due to the dialects, and were originally the same word. Now that the history of the language has furnished us with the true explanation, it is amusing to see the grammarians decreeing that *plier* and *ployer* are different in origin, and establishing completely artificial distinctions between them, distinctions which are at once proved false by the study of the Old French.

[2] Let us sum up the elements of the language. The foundation is popular Latin with a strong German element introduced in the fifth century; a few faint traces of Celtic may be noticed in it. When this language was fully formed, some oriental elements were thrown in about the thirteenth century; in the sixteenth were added a number of Italian and Spanish words; in the nineteenth several expressions of English origin have been accepted; to say nothing of the scientific words drawn from the dead languages and brought in by the learned, chiefly in the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The oriental elements are Hebrew and Arabic. It was a favourite theory of old etymologists that all languages are derived from the Hebrew; but modern philology has proved them wrong, and has established as a law that 'the elements of language answer to the elements of race.' Now the Frenchman does not belong to the same race as a Jew; and such resemblances as may exist between their languages are accidental. When Jerome translated the Old

other Latin countries: in these languages also men passed
from a number of provincial dialects, side by side, to one
common tongue; and thus the Tuscan in Italy, the Castilian in
Spain, supplanted the others; and the Milanais, the Venetian,
the Sicilian, or the Andalusian, and the Navarrais, fell from
the dignity of written dialects into the position of *patois*.

What then was this thirteenth-century French language
which lay half-way between the Latin of the Roman peasant
and the French of Chateaubriand?

Let us study its constitution and forms, and take note of
the path followed by the popular Latin since the fall of the
Empire, and of the distance which lies between this old
French and the French of to-day.

Every one knows that the great difference between French
and Latin is that the French expresses the relation of words by
their *position*, the Latin by their *form*.   The Latin might say
equally well ' canis occidit lupum,' or ' lupum occidit canis';

Testament into Latin he incorporated into his version certain
Hebrew words which had no Latin equivalents, as **seraphim,
Gehenna, pascha,** &c.; from Latin they passed at a later
time into French (*séraphin, gêne, pâque*).   But they came in
from the Latin, not from the Hebrew.   The same is the case
with the Arabic; its relations with French have been purely
accidental.   To say nothing of those words which express
oriental things, such as *Alcoran, bey, cadi, caravane, derviche,
firman, janissaire*, &c., which were brought into the West by
travellers, the French language received, in the middle ages,
many Arabic words from another source.   The Crusades, the
scientific greatness of the Arabians, the study of oriental phi-
losophers, who were much followed in France between the
twelfth and fourteenth centuries, enriched the vocabulary with
many words belonging to the three sciences which the Ara-
bians cultivated successfully: in astronomy it gave such words
as *azimuth, nadir, zénith*; in alchemy, *alcali, alcool, alambic,
alchimie, élixir, sirop*; in mathematics, *algèbre, zéro, chiffre*.
Still, even so these words did not come direct from the Arabic
to the French; they passed through the scientific Latin of the
middle ages.   In fact, the oriental languages have had little or
no popular or direct influence on the French.

in French 'le chien tua le loup' is very different from 'le loup tua le chien.' The Frenchman recognises the sense of a word by its position, the Roman by its termination: the Latin, in fact, has declensions, the French has none. We ask, How has this come about? Were there always six cases in Latin? Has French never had more than one case? Let us see what answer history will give.

The tendency to simplify and reduce the number of cases appeared early in popular Latin: the rough barbarians could not grasp the more delicate shades of meaning expressed by them. So, being incapable of using so learned and complicated a system as that of the Latin declensions, they constructed a new declension to suit their wants—a declension which was far more simple, though really far less efficient; for it involved the frequent reproduction of the same form. In the fifth century there were only *two* cases instead of *six*— the nominative to mark the subject, the accusative (chosen because of its frequent recurrence) for the object. Thenceforward the popular Latin declension was (1) subjective case, **muru-s**; (2) objective case, **muru-m**. This afterwards became the base of French declension for the first half of the middle ages; and the Old French retained these two cases in the singular and plural. Thus Old French was originally a semi-synthetic language, half-way between synthetic Latin and analytic modern French.

The reader is referred to the body of this book for the destiny and vicissitudes of this declension. It disappeared in the fourteenth century: from the fifteenth century onwards the modern form alone remained[1].

The revolution by which Old French passed into modern French gives us a picture of the way in which the Latin

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[1] The secondary modifications, consequent on the dying out of this declension, are considered below, in the chapters on pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs.

language simplified itself at the time of the fall of the Roman Empire; it lost four of the six cases, and so became Old French, descending from the rank of a synthetic to that of a semi-synthetic language: in the fourteenth century the declension in two cases in its turn disappeared, giving place to that single case which alone exists in modern French. Thanks to the loss of this intermediate declension, which carried the language into the analytical condition of modern French, Old French became rapidly antiquated, and between it and the present language there came a far broader gulf than that which separates Old Italian from the Italian of to-day.

It would be folly to regret the loss of this old declension: we can only regard it with interest as the bridge over which the French language has passed in its journey from the ancient to the modern world. Nature never moves by bounds and leaps, but slowly and with gradual movement: in the passage from Latin to French this two-case declension acted as a halting-place between the six cases of the Classical Latin, and the modern form with its single case.

It shows us too, once more, how parallel in their movement have been the language and the political history of the country. In the fourteenth century the social edifice built by medieval feudalism begins to crumble down; Philip the Fair, and then Charles V, strike a fatal blow at the independence of nobles and clergy, and begin the reform of the administrative monarchy, which is carried out by Louis XI, by Richelieu, by Louis XIV. The Old French moved with the times, seeking to supply the needs of a new form of society. The movement went on throughout the fourteenth century, the analytical or modern spirit rapidly gaining ground: declension in two cases, variations of dialect, which had flourished in the twelfth century, were abandoned; and by the end of the fourteenth century Old French was gone. The fifteenth century saw the birth of modern French. To

the new tongue corresponded a new political France. With the mishaps and the shame of the House of Valois society underwent another change: the spirit of modern times began to be felt; the Renaissance dawned. The strong and expressive language of Commines is very like modern French. In it we can measure the rapid course of the language during the two centuries; by the time of the death of Louis XI, France was reorganised, and her language nearly complete.

The beginning of the sixteenth century, without introducing anything new, secured and confirmed the language of the fifteenth century. The French of Calvin's famous *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne* (A.D. 1535) is completely ripe and full: it expresses with ease all shades of meaning; the language seems to be firmly fixed, and had it remained as it then was, it might have escaped the criticisms of Malherbe and the seventeenth-century savants; but immediately after this period it was damaged by an extravagant influx of foreign words, borrowed from Latin, Greek, and Italian.

The many expeditions of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I across the Alps, and the lengthened stay of the French armies in Italy, made the Italian language familiar to the French. The splendour of the Italian Renaissance in literature and art dazzled the French mind, while the regency of Catharine de' Medici gave the prestige of fashion to everything Italian. This Italian influence was omnipotent at the courts of Francis I and Henry II; and the courtiers, completely imbued with it, handed it down to the nation. Then for the first time appeared in books a number of hitherto unknown words: the old military terms *heaume*, *brand*, *haubert*, &c., disappeared, and were replaced by Italian words learnt in the wars of Italy, as *carabine* from carabina; *gabion*, gabbione; *escadre*, scadra; *parapet*, parapetto; *fantassin*, fantaccino; *infanterie*, infanteria; *citadelle*, citadella; *estramaçon*, stramazzone; *embuscade*, imboscata;

alerte, all'erta, &c.   This mania for *Italianism* very properly aroused the ire of a contemporary writer.   Henry Estienne, who, in his *Dialogue du François italianisé*, says with some vehemence, 'A few years hence, the whole world will believe that France learnt the art of war from the school of Italy, because it will be seen that she uses therein none but Italian terms.' And not only war terms : Catharine de' Medici introduced a number of words relating to court life—*courtisan* from cortigiano ; *affidé*, affidato ; *charlatan*, ciarlatano ; *escorte*, scorta ; *cameriste*, camerista ; *bouffon*, buffone ; *faquin*, facchino ; *brave*, bravo ; *carrosse*, carrozza, &c.   Terms of art also came in with Primaticcio and Leonardo da Vinci ; as *balcon*, balcone ; *costume*, costume ; *baldaquin*, baldacchino ; *cadence*, cadenza ; *cartouche*, cartuccio, &c. ; and lastly, the commercial relations between the countries left some deposits in language, such as *bilan*, bilancia ; *agio*, aggio ; *escale*, scala ; *banque*, banca ; *banqueroute*, bancorotto, &c.

The *Italianisers*, as they were styled in the sixteenth century, went further still, and tried to shoulder out French words in ordinary speech, and to substitute Italian ones : thus your man of taste would not deign to say *suffire, grand revenu, la première fois*, but *baster, grosse intrade, la première volte*, because the Italians said *bastare, entrata, volta*, &c.

To this pernicious influence was added another, the mania for antiquity.   It was a time of great classical fervour ; and the admirers of these newly-disclosed treasures despised the more homely French, and wished to bring in the majesty of expression and of thought which they admired so much among the ancients.   One of them, Joachim du Bellay, ventured to set forth a celebrated manifesto, entitled *Deffense et illustration de la langue françoise* (A.D. 1548), in which he proposed a plan for the production of a more poetical and nobler language by the wholesale importation of Latin and Greek words in their natural state.   He sought

to ennoble the French language by borrowing largely from ancient tongues, and to enrich French poetry by introducing the literary forms employed in classical masterpieces. 'Our ancestors,' he writes, 'have left our tongue so poor and bare that it needs ornaments, and, if we may so speak, borrowed plumes. But who would dare to say that the Greek and Latin languages were always in that excellent state in which we find them in the days of Horace and Demosthenes, Virgil and Cicero? Translation alone will not suffice to raise our vulgar French to the level of these more famous tongues. What then must be done? Imitate, imitate the Romans, as they the Greeks, as Cicero Demosthenes, as Virgil Homer. .. And so, Frenchmen, once more march boldly towards the superb city of Rome, and with its spoils adorn your temples and your altars. ... Attack that "Graecia mendax," and once more call into being the famous nation of Gallo-Greeks. Without hesitation carry off, I pray you, the sacred treasures of the Delphic shrine, even as you have once before with strong hand pillaged it.'

This manifesto proclaimed aloud the double aim of the reformers; they wished to ennoble the French tongue by borrowing largely from the classical languages; and to ennoble French poetry by importing into it the literary styles current among the ancients.

One of the Duke of Orleans' pages, Peter Ronsard, a gentleman of Vendôme, resolved to carry out Du Bellay's reform. He threw aside the indigenous French poetry, and abruptly introduced Latin epic poetry and Greek tragedy. Thanks to his efforts, France for two centuries regarded these two ancient forms of narrative and dramatic poetry as alone legitimate in point of good taste, and as alone capable of bearing noble inspirations[1]. How far this idea was in

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[1] G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 412.

harmony with the age, and in what way it was carried out, we need not here enquire; we will only say that in essaying to reform French poetry, Ronsard also hoped to reform the French language,

'Et pouvoir en françois parler grec et latin.'

He broke completely with the past, and threw our literature into a wretched course of imitation, which nearly proved fatal to its national character: in order to create new words he recklessly seized on Greek and Latin terms, and dressed up several hundreds of them with French terminations: literary Latin and Greek, which had given nothing to the French language before [1], now came in; and, thanks to Ronsard's school, learned terms, such as *ocymore, entéléchie, oligochronien,* &c., passed in from every side.

Ronsard's disciples [2] far outstripped their master. Not

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[1] We have already shown this for the literary Latin. As to Greek, the two languages never came in contact with one another; the patriotic fables invented by Henry Estienne, Joachim Périon, and Ménage, to prove the affinity of French and Greek, are mere extravagances. Marseilles, the only Greek city which could have brought this about, was at an early date absorbed by the Romans, and soon lost its Greek tongue. There are indeed some few Greek words in early popular French before the sixteenth century, such as *chère, somme, parole*; but these do not come straight from the Greek κάρα, σάγμα, παραβολή, but through the Latin, which adopted and handed them on. We may in fact say of Greek, as we have said of the Oriental tongues, that it has had absolutely no influence on the French.

[2] We must distinguish between the master and his school. Ronsard was very far above his followers. He had real poetical genius, and as a reformer of language had many happy and true ideas. He recommended the *provignement* (the pruning) of old words, the careful study of *patois*, and the adoption from them of fresh resources for the language: he was not *tout brouillé*, as Boileau says—Boileau who treated him as an executioner rather than as a judge. Let us add the verdict of M. Géruzez upon him; it is clear and true. 'Ronsard at first carried his contemporaries by storm; and their admiration often led him astray. And he has been over-praised and over-blackened: " c'était," as

satisfied with creating new words by handfuls, they wished to reconstruct words already in being, and to bring the whole language nearer to the Latin type. Thus, for example, the Latin otiósus and vindicáre had produced *oiseux* and *venger*; these reformers declared such forms null and void, and ordered the nation to write *otieux* and *vindiquer* instead, these forms being closer copies of antiquity. This was indeed to teach the French language to speak nothing but Greek and Latin.

This absurdity was received with boundless enthusiasm, an enthusiasm capable of easy explanation. The French people never understood anything about this new language, which was not made for them: as to the learned, 'this artificial idiom did not seem to them at all ridiculous; they were only likely to see its copious wealth; the divergence between it and the popular spoken language was but another recommendation to their favour. The knowledge of Latin, then so widely spread, was a key to the understanding of this idiom; and the learned thanked the poet for innovations only intelligible to trained eyes like theirs. And so the higher poetry became a tongue spoken only by the initiated, cherished by all who stood above the " profanum vulgus" of the age.'

At last the good sense of the nation protested against such extravagances: and Malherbe led the reaction. The

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Balzac says of him, " le commencement d'un poète." He had poetic enthusiasm without taste. If he has failed utterly in his epic and Pindaric odes, we must not forget that there is a true nobility of poetry in some passages of his *Bocage royal*, his *Hymnes*, and his *Discours sur les misères du temps*. M. Sainte-Beuve, who in our days has reviewed the whole controversy on this point, shows that in sonnets and Anacreontic pieces Ronsard takes very high rank. Malherbe, who so happily made use of many of Ronsard's efforts, ought to have blamed less severely the slips of the poet who was the martyr as well as the hero of his cause.'

unnatural Greek and Latin words, so rudely thrust in by
force, he instantly and easily drove out; thanks to him,
entéléchie, otieux, vindiquer, and the like, had but a transitory
life; he did his utmost to put an end to the utter confusion
caused by the creation of new terms from Latin words which
had already created natural forms in the popular French.
Thus, from **pagina, plaga, perfectus, peregrinus,** the
pedants, imitating the Latin forms, had created *pagine,
plague, perfect, peregrin,* rejecting the older *page, plaie, parfait,
pèlerin*; these terms Malherbe ejected, reinstating in each
case the ancient form.   Still, several hold their own by the
side of the others, like *incruster* with *encroûter, faction* with
façon, potion with *poison,* &c.   Malherbe, like all reformers,
may have often gone too far: many of the rules he laid
down were stupid and even ridiculous; and in reforming the
laws of poetry and versification he often took the wrong
road.   Still, in the main he was right: he appealed from
Latin and Greek to the Parisians.   'If any one asked his
opinion about any French words, he always sent him to the
street-porters at the Port au Foin, saying that they were his
masters in language[1].'

He had scarcely done his work when a new mania
attacked the language.   The sixteenth century had begun
by imitating Italy; the first half of the seventeenth century
took Spain for its model, and underwent a Spanish invasion.
The wars of the League and the Spanish armies in France
spread far and wide the knowledge of the Spanish language,
and with the tongue came in also the fashions and absurd
etiquette of Spain.   The court of Henry IV was 'Spaniard-
ised.'   Sully tells us that the courtiers did nothing but utter
Castilian cries and exclamations.   'We heard them ever and
anon cry aloud "*Jesus-Sire,*" and with doleful voice exclaim

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[1] Racan, *Vie de Malherbe.*

"*Il en faut mourir*"[1].' Accordingly, a new class of words now makes its appearance for the first time: *capitan* from the Spanish capitan; *duègne*, dueña; *guitare*, guitara; *haquenée*, hacanea; *camarade*, camarada; *nègre*, negro; *case*, casa, &c.

The Hôtel de Rambouillet, the Précieuses, the Academy, and the grammarians, Vaugelas, D'Olivet, Thomas Corneille, continued in the seventeenth century the work which Malherbe had begun; they exaggerated their principle, and dried up the living sources of the language. Their task of excision and suppression was consecrated by the Dictionnaire de l'Académie (first ed. 1694), which is an alphabetical collection of all words admitted into the French language 'par le bon usage[2].' This book is the standard of the French language, as it has existed ever since, and no writer may hope to be classed among pure French authors who moves beyond its pages.

Were I writing the history of the French language, instead of merely tracing out a fugitive sketch, I should here have to consider the personal influence exercised and the mark left on its progress and formation by such great writers as Pascal, Bossuet, Molière, in the seventeenth century, and, in the eighteenth, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.

I must be content with remarking that the language underwent very little change in the eighteenth century, during which few additions were made to it. Voltaire introduced some orthographical reforms (such as *ai* for *oi*, *français* for *françois*). Some grammarians (like the Abbé Dangeau) tried, after the example of Ramus and Expilly, to introduce phonetic spelling, a thing in itself absurd, because the orthography of a word is a direct result of its etymology, and

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[1] Sully, *Mémoires*, ii. 2.
[2] *Dict. de l'Acad. Française.* Ed. 1694. Preface.

phonetic spelling would destroy all the hereditary rank of words; others, following in the steps of Bacon, Descartes, and Leibnitz, dreamt of an universal language. These views resulted from the philosophical theories of the eighteenth century. 'As the philosophers were for grasping what was called "the state of nature" in man, marking down the progress of his sentiments, passions, and intelligences, so did the grammarians follow after the idea of a primitive language[1]. They sought to discuss *a priori* the ideas necessary to people in a state of infancy, and the sounds employed to express these ideas.' Philosophical grammarians (like De Brosses, Condillac, &c.) conceived that there existed some one language more natural to mankind than all others; and this they strove to discover by all means in their power, seeking to find it by sterile discussions and haphazard systems.

The introduction of new terms, which seemed to be arrested after the sixteenth century, has begun again in our own time with great force and with an impulse far more genuine and powerful than that of Ronsard's days. The struggle between the classicists and the romantic school, which has gone on since 1824, the growth of journalism, science, and industry, and the acquaintance with foreign literatures, have all contributed to this result.

The new words of this century are of two classes, good or bad, useful or pernicious. Of the good class are the fifteen to twenty thousand words introduced by science and industrial necessities (*photographie, gazomètre, télégraphie,* &c.); for new ideas required new terms to express them; and with them we class those foreign words which arise from the evergrowing frequency of international communication. Most of these

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[1] De Brosses meant by his 'primitive language,' not a supposed language whence all others were derived, but that which nature breathes into all men, as a necessary consequence of the action of the soul on the bodily organs.

come from England, from politics and political economy, such as *budget, fury, drawback, warrant, bill, convict,* &c.; or from sport, as *turf, jockey, festival, clown, groom, steeplechase, boxe, whist, touriste, cottage, square, tilbury, dogue,* &c.; or from industrial pursuits, as *drainage, tender, wagon, rail, tunnel, ballast, express, dock, stock,* &c.; to say nothing of naval terms [1].

By the side of these valuable novelties—valuable because they express new ideas which form a language apart within the French language—we have also faulty and entirely superfluous ones, expressing old ideas by new words, where older words were already in existence, and were understood by every one. In the seventeenth century every one said *fonder, toucher, tromper, émouvoir,* the nineteenth prefers *baser, impressionner, illusionner, émotionner,* &c. [2] Journalism and the Assembly have flooded us with these new words, and have, besides, produced a new development of old words, by creating a number of heavy ungraceful derivatives, as from *règle, régler, règlement,* then *réglementer,* and at last *réglementation*; from *constitution, constitutionnel, constitutionnalité, inconstitutionnalité, inconstitutionnellement,* &c. Under this new growth of terminations, this inundation of prefixes and suffixes, the true and simple language is in danger of being entirely swamped and lost.

It is not easy to predict the future of the French language; but we may feel sure that it will owe its permanence to the balance and harmonious proportion it will establish between novelty and tradition, the necessary foundations of every

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[1] It is a curious fact that many of these English words are Old French words imported into England in the eleventh century by the Normans. Thus *fashion* is the old *façon*; *tunnel* the O. Fr. *tonnel* (now *tonneau*); and so on.

[2] These new words pretend to express certain new shades of meaning; but these are almost always illusory. What real difference can exist between *baser* and *fonder*?

language; between novelty, needful for the expression of new ideas, and tradition, careful guardian of old ideas and of the old words which express them.

Two lessons may be learnt from this long history of the French tongue : first, that languages are not immoveable and petrified, but living, and, like all things living, full of motion. Like plants and animals they spring into life, they grow, and they decay. ‘ Natura nil facit per saltum,’ said the sagacious Linnaeus; and this is as true of language, the fourth realm of nature, as of the other three : at first sight the distance between peasant Latin and Voltaire’s French seems very great ; yet by slow and almost insensible changes carried on through a very lengthy period we have passed, as we have seen, from the one to the other.

‘ Nature,’ says G. Paris, ‘ is prodigal of time and sparing of effort ’; and thus with slow and almost insensible changes, she reaches results far away from her point of departure. And next, we learn that language, being, even more than literature, the expression or voice of society, changes with it : the movement of the language, and that of the people, are parallel. Hence it is that no language is perfectly rigid or at rest; it moves incessantly ; and that which La Harpe and the critics of the eighteenth century call ‘ the state of perfection ’ of a language is a purely imaginary condition of things.   It was thought at that time, as Balzac held, that the French language had been permanently fixed at a certain moment, and that all good examples were to be found within a very limited circle of years ‘ outside which circle everything is either in the imperfection of youth or in the decadence of old age.’   Philology has shown us how false it is to speak of any language as fixed; it changes with society : we may regret the style of Louis XIV, but it would be childish to try to revive it, and apply it to the needs of our own times; the people (and after all the language is made for them)

would never learn this language of a past age, for it would never be able to throw itself into the same habitual mould and manner of thought.   Those who would like to make such an attempt mistake the true laws of speech, forgetting that it is the business of a language to express all the ideas of a society ; and that as each age has new ideas, new forms of speech must ever be added : besides, to fix a language at such and such an age would be to make it immoveable, and motion is the very life of speech.   Languages are like plants : the action of time on them, as on everything, is irreparable ; we can no more restore a language to its former state than we can make the oak shrink back into its acorn.   The hope of possessing perfection must indeed be renounced ; it is not destined for us.   ' C'est qu'en aucune chose, peut-être, il n'est donné à l'homme d'arriver au but ; sa gloire est d'y marcher [1].'

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[1] M. Guizot, *Civilisation en Europe.*

II.

THE FORMATION OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

WHOEVER looks even superficially at the French language cannot fail to notice a distinction between such words as *simuler, mobile, ration,* which profess to be faithful copies of the Latin words **simulare, mobilis, rationem,** and another set of words like *sembler, meuble, raison,* which evidently come from the same sources, though they are shorter in form, and apparently farther removed from their Latin ancestry. We have seen above that these are two distinct formations of words which, though both have come from the Latin, are of very different origin, the one being popular, the other learned; the former good, formed before the twelfth century, a spontaneous and unconscious product; the latter modern, chiefly of the sixteenth century, artificial and conscious, the deliberate work of the learned, who have forcibly introduced into the language the terms they needed.

The greater length of form affected by the learned words is, however, a merely exterior and superficial characteristic, with nothing certain or scientific about it. Naturalists never classify by length or size, but by internal signs and qualities; they observe divers internal qualities which enable them to proceed with perfect certainty; and similarly, philology, the natural history of language, does not distinguish popular words by their dimensions, but by certain internal characteristics. These specific characteristics, sure touchstones by which to test popular words and to separate them from

words of learned origin, are three : (1) the continuance of the tonic accent; (2) the suppression of the short vowel; (3) the loss of the medial consonant.

CHAPTER I.

The continuance of the Latin tonic Accent.

In every polysyllabic word there is always one syllable on which the voice rests more markedly than on the others. This elevation of the voice is called *the tonic accent*, or simply *the accent*: thus in the word *raisón* the tonic accent is on the last syllable, while in *raisonnáble* it is on the penultimate. Accordingly we mean by the *accented* or *tonic syllable* that on which the voice rests[1]. This accent gives each word its proper character, and has been well called 'the soul of the word.'

In French words it always occupies one of two places : either it is on the last syllable, in words with a masculine termination, as *chantéur, aimér, finír*; or on the penultimate, when the ending is feminine, *rôide, pôrche, voyáge*. Similarly,

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[1] In every French word there is one accented or *tonic* syllable, and only one; the other syllables are unaccented or *atonic*. Take *bâtonner* for an example; in *bâtonnér*, the accent lies on the *e*, while the *â* and the *o* are atonic. Similarly in Latin, in *cantórem*, the *o* is accented, the *a* and *e* are not. The reader is reminded once for all that instead of saying 'the accented syllable,' we shall speak always of 'the tonic syllable'; and instead of 'the unaccented syllables,' 'the atonic'; terms which will recur over and over again. It is hardly necessary to add that this accent has no connexion with what are commonly called accents in French (the grave, acute, and circumflex). These latter are but grammatical symbols, some account of which the reader will find on pp. 94, 95.

the accent has one of two places in Latin : penultimate, when the penultimate syllable is long, as cantórem, amáre, finíre; or antepenultimate, when the penultimate is short, as rígĭdus, pórtĭcus, viátĭcum.

Look at such words carefully, and you will see that the syllable accented in Latin continues to be so in French; or, in other words, that the accent remains where it was in Latin. This continuance of the accent is a general and absolute law : for all words belonging to popular and real French respect the Latin accent : and all such words as *portíque* from pórtĭcus, or *viatíque* from viátĭcum, which break this law, will be found to be of learned origin, introduced into the language at a later time by men who were ignorant of the laws which nature had imposed on the transition from Latin to French. We may lay it down as an infallible law, that *The Latin accent continues in French in all words of popular origin ; while all words which violate this law are of learned origin*: thus—

LATIN.	POPULAR WORDS.	LEARNED WORDS.
Alúmine	*alún*	*alumíne*
Ángelus	*ánge*	*angelús*
Blásphemum	*bláme*	*blasphème*
Cáncer	*cháncre*	*cancér*
Cómputum	*cómpte*	*compút*
Débitum	*détte*	*débít*
Décima	*díme*	*décíme*
Decórum	*decór*	*decorúm*
Exámen	*essaím*	*examén*
Móbilis	*meúble*	*mobíle*
Órganum	*órgue*	*orgáne*
Pólypus	*poúlpe*	*polýpe*
Pórticus	*pórche*	*portíque*, &c.

In these cases all the popular forms are shorter than the learned ones; as, for example, *cómpte* is shorter than *compút.* The cause is that the learned *comput* comes from the classical Latin cómputum; the popular *compte* from the popular Latin cómptum.

This clearly shows the difference between classical Latin (the original of learned French) and common Latin (parent of popular French). This fall of the penultimate atonic syllable u (cómp[u]tum) always took place in popular Latin, as saeclum, poclum, vinclum, in the Latin comedians: inscriptions and epitaphs are full of such forms; for while the literary Latin was frígidus, cálidus, dígitus, víridis, tábula, oráculum, stábulum, ángulus, víncere, suspéndere, móbilis, pósitus, the popular Latin uniformly suppressed the atonic antepenult, and so reduced these words to frígdus, cáldus, dígtus, vírdis, tábla, oráclum, stáblum, ánglus, víncre, suspéndre, móblis, póstus, &c., from which come the French derivatives *froid, chaud, doigt, vert, table, oracle, étable, angle, vaincre, suspendre, meuble, poste,* &c.

CHAPTER II.

Suppression of the Short Vowel.

We have seen that the tonic accent is a sure touchstone by which to distinguish popular from learned words. It gives us also another and equally sure indication, by which to recognise the age and origin of words, in the loss of the short vowel. Every Latin word, as we have said, is made up of one accented vowel, and others not accented—one *tonic* and others *atonic.* The tonic vowel always remains; but of the atonics *the short vowel which immediately precedes the tonic vowel always disappears in French*: as in—

Bon(ĭ)tátem	*bonté*
San(ĭ)tátem	*santé*
Pos(ĭ)túra	*posture*
Clar(ĭ)tátem	*clarté*
Sept(tĭ)mána	*semaine* (O. Fr. *sepmaine*)
Com(ĭ)tátus	*comté*
Pop(ŭ)látus	*peuplé,* &c.

Words such as *circuler,* circuláre, which break this law
and keep the short vowel, are always of learned origin; all
words of popular origin lose it, as *cercler.* This will be seen
from the following examples :—

LATIN.	POPULAR WORDS.	LEARNED WORDS.
Ang(ŭ)látus	*anglé*	*angulé*
Blasph(ĕ)máre	*blâmer* (O. Fr. *blasmer*)	*blasphémer*
Cap(ĭ)tále	*cheptel*	*capital*
Car(ĭ)tátem	*cherté*	*charité*
Circ(ŭ)lare	*cercler*	*circuler*
Com(ĭ)tátus	*comté*	*comité*
Cum(ŭ)láre	*combler*	*cumuler*
Cart(ŭ)lárium	*chartrier*	*cartulaire*
Hosp(ĭ)tále	*hôtel*	*hôpital*
Lib(ĕ)ráre	*livrer*	*libérer*
Mast(ĭ)cáre	*mâcher*	*mastiquer*
Nav(ĭ)gáre	*nager*	*naviguer*
Op(ĕ)ráre	*ouvrer*	*opérer*
Pect(ŏ)ále	*poitrail*	*pectoral*
Recup(ĕ)ráre	*recouvrer*	*récupérer*
Sep(ă)ráre	*sevrer*	*séparer*
Sim(ŭ)láre	*sembler*	*simuler*
Revind(ĭ)cáre	*revenger*	*revendiquer,* &c.

Whence an invariable rule: *The short atonic syllable*

*directly preceding the tonic vowel always disappears in French
words of popular origin, while it is always preserved in words
of learned origin* [1].

This fact is easily explained:—learned French words
come from classical Latin, popular ones (and we cannot say
it too often) from popular Latin. This short atonic syllable,
which remained in the Classical tongue, died out of popular
Latin long before the fall of the Empire: while the classical
author wrote **alăbáster, coagŭláre, capŭlátor, fistŭlátor, ve-
tĕránus, tegŭlárius, popŭláres,** &c., the popular dialect said,
**albaster, coaglare, caplatór, fistlator, vetranus, teglarius,
poplares** [2], &c. Naturally, then, this short syllable found no
place whatever in the French language; for it had dis-
appeared before that language came into existence.

CHAPTER III.

Loss of the Medial Consonant.

The third characteristic, serving to distinguish popular
from learned words, is the loss of the medial consonant,
i. e. of the consonant which stands between two vowels, like
the **t** in **matúrus.** We will at once give the law of this
change :—*All French words which drop the medial consonant
are popular in origin, while words of learned origin retain it.*
Thus the Latin **vocalis** becomes, in popular French *voyelle,*
in learned French *vocale.* There are innumerable examples
of this : as—

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[1] See my work on this subject, entitled *Du rôle des voyelles
latines atones dans les langues romanes* (Leipzig, 1866).

[2] These examples are all taken from an excellent work by
Professor Schuchardt of Gotha, entitled *Vokalismus des Vulgär-
lateins.*

LATIN.	POPULAR WORDS.	LEARNED WORDS.
Au(g)ústus	*août*	*auguste*
Advo(c)átus	*avoué*	*avocat*
Anti(ph)óna	*antienne*	*antiphone*
Cre(d)éntia	*créance*	*crédence*
Communi(c)áre	*communier*	*communiquer*
Confi(d)éntia	*confiance*	*confidence*
De(c)anátus	*doyenné*	*décanat*
Deli(c)átus	*délié*	*delicat*
Denu(d)átus	*dénué*	*dénudé*
Dila(t)áre	*délayer*	*dilater*
Do(t)are	*douer*	*doter*
Impli(c)áre	*employer*	*impliquer*
Li(g)áre	*lier*	*liguer*
Re(g)ális	*royal*	*régale*
Rene(g)átus	*renié*	*renégat*
Repli(c)áre	*replier*	*répliquer,* &c.

Thus the medial Latin consonant disappears as the word passes into French. The two vowels which were separated by this consonant then fall together: **ma(t)urus** becoming **ma-urus.** The natural consequence of this clash of fully-sounded vowels is that they are both dulled, and finally combined into one sound. Thus in **maturus,** after the Latin **t** went out, the **a-u** of **ma-urus** are soon flattened into *eü, meür* (thirteenth century), thence they pass by contraction from two vowels (*eü*) into one (*û*), and the circumflex accent indicates with exactness the suppression of the *e* [1]. This dulling of vowels and flattening of forms, this contraction of words as they gather themselves together for the passage from Latin to French, is one of the essential characteristics

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[1] This contraction, or (as grammarians style it) *synaeresis,* is studied in detail in Book I, below, pp. 91, 92.

of the language, and one too which seems more than any
other change to make French words seem unlike those from
which they spring.

CHAPTER IV.

Conclusion.

We have now considered the three distinctive signs which
characterise popular French words ;—the retention of the
Latin accent, the suppression of the short atonic syllable,
the loss of the medial consonant.

Popular words, by thus retaining the tonic accent in its
right place, show that they were formed from the Roman
pronunciation while it yet survived; that they were formed
by the ear, not by the eye, and that they spring directly from
a living and spoken language. Learned words, on the other
hand, which violate the Latin accent and pronunciation, are
in reality barbarisms, opposed to the laws of formation of
both languages. For, long after Latin had become a dead
language, these words were created by the learned, who
drew them out of books, and thrust them, just as they were,
into the French language. Popular words, then, are spon-
taneous, natural, unconscious; learned words intentional,
artificial, consciously fabricated : instinct is the mother of the
former, reflexion of the latter.

Hence we may understand the exact time at which, as
a historical fact, the French language came into being.
French was alive and Latin dead from the day that men
no longer naturally understood the Latin accent. This
Latin accent finally died out about the eleventh century.
The same epoch is the date of the full creation of the popular
French language : thenceforth whatever words enter in are
learned words. These exotics appear in great numbers in

the fourteenth century; Aristotle is translated by Nicolas Oresme, Livy by Bercheure: to express ancient ideas they are compelled to fashion new words, and so they transplant from Latin into French a crowd of words, the form of which is not really changed. Thus, Bercheure writes *consulat, tribunitien, faction, magistrat, triomphe*, &c.; and Oresme gives us *aristocratie, altération, démocratie, tyrannie, monarchie, animosité, agonie*, &c. Only too often they construct these words in opposition to all the rules of formation, and violate the law of accent at every step. Thus Bercheure writes *colonie* from **colónia**; Oresme *agile* from **ágilis**, &c. This influx of learned words increases throughout the fifteenth century; it breaks bounds and floods the language of the sixteenth century. In the earlier part of this Introduction[1] it is shown that this invasion, arrested by Malherbe, stood still during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while it has moved on again with renewed energy in the nineteenth.

These words, a language within the language, are more numerous than the good old words, and many of them have already passed out of books into the common speech of men.

Now, looked at with the eyes of a philologer, a word or phrase is beautiful so far as it is regular, i. e. so far as it obeys the laws of its formation. And therefore learned words, which break the true law of accent, are vexatious blots on the surface of a language formed regularly and logically: they mar the fair arrangement and harmonious analogy of the whole. Not that we ought to erase these words from our dictionaries; 'It would be ridiculous,' says G. Paris, in his work on Latin Accent (p. 31), 'to try to retrace our steps: the language is a *fait accompli*; we cannot proscribe these lawless words of learned origin; but we may

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[1] Above, pp. 35, 36.

be allowed to feel regret at their introduction into the language—so much destruction have they caused to the fair frame on which it was constructed.' And consequently the language of the seventeenth century, which has fewer learned words in it than that of the nineteenth, is, in the philologer's sight, more regular, better proportioned, and therefore more beautiful than that of our own day. For the same reason, the language of the thirteenth century, which has still fewer of these blemishes, seems to the philologer to be yet more perfect, for its perfection springs from obedience to law.

Now, this manner of valuing language can be correct only so far as we distinguish carefully between the *form* and the *expression.*

The language of the seventeenth century, so interesting to the student in literature and to the artist, who examine carefully the great works it has produced, offers but little that is interesting to the philologer or the historian, who examine the language itself. In matter of *form*, if compared with the French of the previous centuries, it is a language already damaged by being overloaded with learned words ; the regular structure we admired so much at the outset is altogether lost.

Now, if it be considered from the point of view of *expression*, the language of the seventeenth century recovers its supremacy ; it is more analytical than that of the thirteenth century, and more able to handle abstract ideas ; as an instrument of expression, the idiom of Racine is far superior to that of Villehardouin.

On the other hand, in matter of *form*, the farther we go back the more the French language improves. In the twelfth century it is entirely popular, with not a trace of learned words. We shall see hereafter how this regular structure, so fair at first, has been overgrown in modern French, and how false are the views which would call the earlier stages of the language

the barbarous period.   Thus Jacob Grimm's principle, that
'the literary period of a language is usually that of its lin-
guistic decadence,' receives another confirmation.   One might
even say that instinct makes words, and reflexion spoils
them; in a word, that the perfection of languages is in in-
verse proportion to their civilisation ; as society grows more
cultivated, language becomes more degraded.

   Again I would remind my reader that this discussion has
treated language not artistically but scientifically.   Language,
like the garden, may and should be studied from two points
of view: the artist looks only at the beauty of the rose,
the botanist studies the regularity of its structure and the
place it holds in the vegetable world ; the artist may find
something to admire in a clipped yew-tree ; to the botanist it
is only an artificial monstrosity, which cannot be classified,
and is quite unworthy of attention.   So too with language;
while the literary man ought to consider it as an art, and
mark its aesthetic beauty, our task is a different one: the
philologer looks at *form* rather than *expression*, and seeks
to discover the laws of its structure : a form is beautiful in
his eyes when it is perfectly regular.   This distinction the
reader must always bear in mind.   Alphabet, inflexions,
formation of words—here are the three divisions into which
our subject naturally falls.   And the guiding-line through
this labyrinth of language is the strict distinction of popular
from learned words; the former spontaneous and regular,
the latter conscious, the arbitrary and personal work of the
learned, not to be referred to any proper laws.   One example
will explain our meaning.

   When we say (p. 60) that the Latin ct always becomes
it in French, as factus, *fait*; octo, *huit*, &c., it is clear that
we are speaking only of the popular language, and of good
old words derived naturally from the 'rustic' Latin, and
that we set aside such modern learned words as *traction*,

factum, nocturne, &c., which are servile copies of Latin forms [1].

Thus, then, the distinction between popular and learned words forms the foundation of this book : we propose to reject every word introduced since the formation of the language. And, farther, we shall always take care to cite, when necessary, the Old French forms; for they explain the transition, and mark, like sign-posts, the road along which the Latin has passed on its way towards the French language. We shall better see how this transit has been accomplished when the successive stages of it are under our eyes. Thus, for instance, at first sight it is hard to see that *âme* comes from **anima**; but the matter is made perfectly clear by history, our guiding-line; for it shows us that in the thirteenth century the word was written *anme,* in the eleventh *aneme,* in the tenth *anime,* which leads us straight to the Latin **anima.**

These Old French forms, the natural links between the French and Latin languages, are like the runners in Lucretius who hand on from one to other the torch of life—

'Et, quasi cursores, vitaï lampada tradunt.'

The Latin word passes thus from mouth to mouth, until, in an altered shape, it reaches our own days. How can we do better, if we would find it again without hesitation, than trace it regularly through the course of its whole journey?

We are about to enter in detail on the study of the main laws of the transition from Latin into French. 'To understand the plan of the world,' says Bacon, 'we must patiently dissect nature.' By patient study of particulars we rise to

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[1] The spelling *faict, traict,* &c., is the grotesque and barbarous work of the pedants of the fifteenth century. The medieval French was, as now, *fait, trait,* &c. Wishing to make these words as like Latin as possible, the Latinists put in this *c,* without thinking that the *it* already represented the Latin **ct.**

laws, which are as towers up which one climbs by the ladder of experience; from their high top we see out far and wide. Strong in this great authority, we shall not fear to be reproached for stooping to the most minute details. The scientific mind, far from being crushed under the mass of little facts which it collects and observes, becomes stronger and more comprehensive according to the solidity with which it can found its conception of the whole on the knowledge of details. 'Wilt thou understand and enjoy the whole?' says Goethe; 'then learn to see it in its smallest parts.'

BOOK I.

PHONETICS, OR THE STUDY OF THE LETTERS OF THE ALPHABET.

Phonetics is that part of Grammar which studies the sounds of letters, their modifications and transformations. In the French language this will aim at making out the history of each of the letters transmitted to French from Latin, and will note the changes they have undergone in their transit. Thus, for example, if we take the letter *n*, we shall see that it may have undergone, (1) permutation (that is, change), as **orphaninus** to *orphelin*; (2) transposition, as **stagnum** to *étang*; (3) addition, as **laterna** to *lanterne*; (4) suppression, as **infernum** to *enfer*.

We have here a natural division of this study; we will successively pass in review (1) the permutation, (2) the transposition, (3) the addition, and (4) the suppression, or subtraction of letters.

In dealing with these permutations, we shall first ascend from French to Latin, and then descend in the reverse direction, from Latin to French; by this means we shall be able to chronicle in due order the history of both the French and the Latin letters of the alphabet.

PART I.

PERMUTATION OF LETTERS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH ALPHABET.

Imagine that a word is a living organism; the consonants will be the skeleton, unable to move without the help of the vowels, which are the muscles connecting the bones with one another.

Thus the vowels are the moving and fugitive parts, the consonants the stable and resisting elements of words. Consequently, the permutation of vowels is subjected to less certain laws than that of consonants; for they pass more readily from one to another.

SECTION I.

ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH VOWELS.

We will consider successively the simple vowels (*a, e, i, o, u*), and then the compound vowels (*ai, ei, oi, ui; au, eau, eu, ou* or *œu, ie, ieu*).

§ 1. *Simple Vowels.*

Before entering on the study of vowels, let us point out to our reader the essential principle which we have already laid down (pp. 43–49), and which is the key to the whole book. This is as follows:—*The popular French language keeps the Latin tonic syllable, and suppresses both the short atonic syllable and the medial consonant.*

Now every Latin word has one accented vowel and others

not accented, or, in other words, one tonic and other atonic vowels, which we will examine separately. For example, the French *a* may come either from an accented Latin a (as *arbre* from árbor), or from an atonic Latin a (as *amour* from amórem).

Under each of these classes we must again distinguish (1) the vowels short by nature (schŏla), (2) those long by nature (amōrem), and (3) those long by position, i.e. those followed by two consonants (fortis)[1].

Now, in order to pursue a methodical plan, and to include every possible case, we will in each instance follow the sub-joined paradigm, or example of method :—

O.

This letter comes from the Latin o :

I. Either from an accented o : (1) short, schóla, *école*; (2) long by nature, pómum, *pomme*; (3) long by position, fórtis, *fort*.

II. Or from an atonic (unaccented) o : (1) short, obédire, *obéir*; (2) long by nature, donáre, *donner*; (3) long by position, condúcere, *conduire*[2].

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[1] Those long by position include, not only such words as fortis, urna, &c., which naturally and originally have the vowel followed by two consonants, but also such words as peric'lum, artic'lus, pon're, contracted from perículum, artículus, pónere. Whereas the literary Latin wrote víridis, tábula, pónere, stábulum, &c., popular Latin suppressed the short penultimate (in the case of all words accented on the ante-penultimate), and said vírdis, tábla, pónre, stáblum, &c., whence come the French words *vert, table, pondre, étable,* &c. From the moment that two consonants are thus brought to-gether these vowels can be classed as long by position ; and this will be done throughout this book. Properly speaking, we ought in all places to substitute the popular for the classical forms of Latin words ; this, however, for fear of confusing our reader, we have refrained from doing. It should be remembered that, wherever such words as tábula, pónere, pósitus, &c., occur, they must be read and pronounced as táb'la, pón're, pós'tus, &c.

[2] The student is requested to take notice, once for all, that to shorten matters, we will not repeat the words ' short,' ' long by

A.

This letter comes from the Latin **a, e, i.**

I. From a:

i. Accented: (1) *chambre*, cámera; *âne*, ásinus; *cage*, cávea; (2) *voyage*, viáticum; *sauvage*, silváticus; *car*, quáre; *avare*, avárus; (3) *flamme*, flámma; *char*, cárrus; *arbre*, árbor; *ange*, ángelus.

ii. Atonic: (1) *salut*, salútem; *avare*, avárus; *parer*, paráre; (2) *panier*, panárium; *savon*, sapónem; (3) *asperge*, aspáragus; *carré*, quadratus.

II. From e:

i. Accented: (3) *lucarne*, lucérna; *lézard*, lacérta.

ii. Atonic: (3) *Mayenne*, Meduána; (3) *parchemin*, pergaménum; *marchand,* mercántem.

III. From i:

i. Accented: (1) *sans*, síne; (3) *langue*, língua; *sangle*, cíngulum.

ii. Atonic: (1) *balance*, biláncem; *calandre*, cylíndrus; *Angoulême*, Iculísma; (3) *sanglot*, singúltus; *Sancerre*, Sincérra; *paresse*, pigrítia; *sanglier*, singuláris; *sauvage* (Old French *salvage*), silváticus [1].

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nature,' 'long by position,' but will simply indicate these divisions by the figures (1), (2), (3).

[1] The reader will remark that these Latin words are accented. I have thought this necessary, in order to show clearly where the Latin accent lies in each word.

E.

This letter comes from the Latin **e, a, i.**

I. From e.:

i. Accented: (2) *cruel*, crudélis; *espère*, **spéro**; *règle*, régula; *chandelle*, candéla.

ii. Atonic: (1) *légume*, legúmen; (3) *église*, **ecclésia**; *semaine* (O. Fr. *sepmaine*), septimána.

II. From a:

i. Accented: (1) *père*, páter; *chef*, cáput; (2) *mortel*, mortális; *sel*, sál; *amer*, amárus; *noyer*, necáre; *aimer*, amáre; *gré*, grátum; *nez*, násus; *nef*, návis; (3) *alègre*, alácrem.

ii. Atonic: (2) *chenil*, caníle; *parchemin*, pergaménum; (3) *hermine*, **Arménia.**

III. From i:

i. Accented: (1) *trèfle*, trifólium; (2) *sec*, síccus; *ferme*, fírmus; *cep*, cíppus; *mèche*, mýxa; *crête*, crísta; (3) *Angouléme*, **Iculísma.**

ii. Atonic: (1) *mener*, mináre*; *menu*, minútus; *béton*, bitúmen; (2) *devin*, divínus; *déluge*, dilúvium.

IV. By 'prosthesis,' or the prefixing of a letter at the beginning of a word, as *esprit*, spíritus.

I.

This letter comes from the Latin **i, e, c.**

I. From i:

i. Accented: (1) *sourcil*, **supercílium**; (2) *ami*, amícus; *épi*, spíca; *épine*, spína; *ouïr*, au(d)íre.

ii. Atonic: *lier*, ligáre; *image*, imáginem; *ciguè*, cicúta.

II. From e :

i. Accented : (1) *dix*, décem ; *mi*, médius ; *hermine*, Arménia ; (2) *cire*, céra ; *merci*, mercédem ; *tapis*, tapétum ; *six*, séx ; *église*, ecclésia ; *Venise*, Venétia ; *Alise*, Alésia ; (3) *ivre*, ébrius.

ii. Atonic ; (2) *timon*, temónem.

III. From c :

It would be inaccurate to assert that the Latin c becomes a French *i*, or (more generally) that any consonant becomes a vowel ; but it has been observed that the double consonant ct, as in factus, tractus, passes in French into *it* (*fait*, *trait*), under the influence of the vowel that precedes it[1]: *traiter*, tractare ; *fait*, factus ; *étroit*, strictus ; *toit*, tectum ; *biscuit*, biscoctus ; *lait*, lactem ; *duit* (*réduit*, *conduit*, *produit*, *séduit*, &c.), ductus ; *lit*, lectum ; *fruit*, fructus ; *laitue*, lactuca ; *voiture*, vectura ; *Poitiers*, Pictavi ; *poitrail*, pectorále ; *droit*, Low Lat. drictus, from directus[2]. When the ct in the Latin is not preceded by a vowel, the double consonant is changed simply into *t*, as *point*, punctum ; *saint*, sanctum ; *oint*, unctum.

O.

This letter comes from the Latin o, u, au.

I. From o :

i. Accented : (2) *nom*, nómen ; *raison*, ratiónem ; *pondre*, pónere.

ii. Atonic : (1) *obéir*, obedíre ; *honneur*, honórem.

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[1] No notice need here be taken of technical words, such as *strict* (strictus), *réduction*, *induction*, *protection*, &c. (see above, p. 33, note 1), which are formed from the literary, not the popular Latin.

[2] The form drictus is frequent in Latin texts from the fifth century downwards, and after a time entirely supplants the more correct form directus.

II. From u:

    i. Accented: (1) *nombre*, númerus; (3) *ponce*, púmi-cem; *ongle*, úngula; *noces*, núptiae.

    ii. Atonic: (3) *ortie*, urtíca.

III. From au:

    i. Accented: *or*, aúrum; *trésor*, thesaúrus; *chose*, caúsa; *clore*, claúdere.

    ii. Atonic: *oser*, ausáre *; *Orléans*, Aureliános.

U.

This letter comes from the Latin u, i.

I. From u:

    i. Accented: (2) *nu*, núdus; *mur*, múrus; *aigu*, acútus; *menu*, minútus.

    ii. Atonic: (1) *superbe*, supérbus; (2) *munir*, muníre.

II. More rarely from an atonic i: as (1) *fumier*, fimárium; *buvait*, bibébat.

III. There are also cases in which it appears to come from a Latin n, in which it is rather true that the vowel is strengthened, when the n is lost, by lengthening it from o to ou; see p. 63.

§ 2. *Compound Vowels.*

These are nine in number; four of them (*ai, ei, oi, ui*) formed by the help of the vowel *i*, the remaining five by the help of the vowel *u* (*au* or *eau, eu* or *œu, ou, ieu*).

AI.

This compound sound comes either from a Latin a, or from a transposition of letters.

I. From an accented **a** : (1) *aime*, **ámo** ; *main*, **mánus** ; (2) *aile*, **ála** ; *semaine*, **septimána** ; (3) *caisse*, **cápsa** ; *maigre*, **mácrum.**

II. From a transposition of letters :

In this case *ai* springs from the junction of the two vowels **a** and **i**, separated in the Latin by a consonant, which in the transition into French has undergone transposition, as **contrarius**, *contraire* [1].

EI.

This compound sound comes from the Latin **e, i.**

I. From **ẹ** :

i. Accented : (2) *veine*, **véna** ; *plein*, **plénus** ; *frein*, **frénum** ; *haleine*, **haléna** ; *Reims*, **Rémi.**

ii. Atonic : (1) *seigneur*, **seniórem.**

II. From **i** : (1) *teigne*, **tínea** ; *sein*, **sínus** ; (3) *seing*, **sígnum.**

OI.

This compound vowel comes :

I. From the reciprocal attraction of the vowels **o** and **i**, separated in Latin by a consonant : *histoire*, **história** ; *poison*, **potiónem** ; *temoin*, **testimónium.**   (Cp. ai, II. above.)

II. From a long **e** : *avoine*, **avéna** ; *soir*, **sérus** ; *crois*, **crédo** ; *toile*, **téla** ; *voile*, **vélum** ; *hoir*, **héres** ; &c.

III. From **i** : *voie*, **vía** ; *soif*, **sítis** ; *poil*, **pílus** ; *poivre*, **píper** ; *pois*, **písum** ; *foi*, **fídes** ; *poire*, **pírum** ; &c.

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[1] See below, the chapter on Transposition, p. 87.

UI.

This compound vowel comes from the Latin o: (1) *cuir*, córium; *muid*, módius; *cuire*, cóquere; *hui*[1], hódie; (3) *puis*, post; *huître*, óstrea; *huis*, óstium[2]; *Le Puy*, Pódium. In some other cases it is the result of an attraction of the Latin vowels **u** and **i**, separated by a consonant; *juin*, junius; *aiguiser*, acutiare *. (Cp. ai, II. p. 62.)

AU, EAU.

Au is a softened form of the Latin **al**, eau of the Latin **el**.

I. From **al**: *autre*, alter; *aube*, alba; *sauf*, salvus; *auge*, alveus; *saul*, saltus; *jaune*, gálbinus.

II. From **el**: *beau*, bellus; *Meaux*, Meldi; *château*, castellum; *veau*, O. Fr. *véel*, vitellus.

EU, ŒU.

This compound vowel comes from an accented **o**: (1) *heure*, hóra; *preuve*, próba; *aïeul*, aviólus; *queux*, cóquus; *feuille*, fólia; *meule*, móla; *sœur*, sóror; *œuvre*, ópera; *neuf*, nóvus; *neuf*, nóvem; (2) *seul*, sólus; *leur*, illórum; *neveu*, nepótem; *œuf*, óvum; *cœur*, cór; *Meuse*, Mósa; *mœurs*, móres; *vœu*, vótum; *nœud*, nódus; *couleur*, colórem.

OU.

This compound vowel comes from the Latin **o, u**; or it is a softened form of **ol, ul, on**.

I. From **o**:

i. Accented: (1) *couple*, cópula; *roue*, róta; (2) *nous*, nos; *vous*, vos.

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[1] *Hui* in the word *aujourd'hui*. For the explanation of this word see p. 166.
[2] The old French *huis* signifies a 'gate.' Though now obsolete, it survives in *huissier* (properly a porter, English *usher*), and in the phrase 'à *huis* clos,' 'with closed doors.'

ii. Atonic : (1) *couleur*, colórem ; *moulin*, molínum ; *souloir*, solére ; *douleur*, dolórem ; *couronne*, coróna ; (3) *fourmi*, formíca.

II. From **u** :

i. Accented : (1) *coupe*, cúpa; *outre*, úter ; *coude*, cúbitus; (2) *Adour*, Atúris ; (3) *four*, fúrnus ; *ours*, úrsus; *tour*, túrris ; *sourd*, súrdus.

ii. Atonic : *gouverner*, gubernáre ; *Angouléme*, Iculísma.

III. From **ol, ul, on** :

i. From **ol, ul** : *mou*, mollis ; *cou*, collem ; *écouter* (O. Fr. *escolter*), auscultáre ; *poudre*, púlverem ; *soufre*, súlphurem ; *pouce*, póllicem ; *coupable*, culpábilis.

ii. From **on** : *époux*, spónsus ; *couvent*, convéntus ; *Coutances*, Constántia ; *moutier*, in the thirteenth century *moustier*, in the tenth *monstier*, from monastérium ; *coûter* (O. Fr. *couster*), from constare.

IE, IEU.

I. The compound vowel *ie* comes from the Latin **ia, e** :

i. From **ia** accented : *veniel*, veniális ; *chrétien*, christiánus ; *Amiens*, Ambiáni.

ii. From **e** accented : *fier*, férus ; *fiel*, fél ; *hier*, héri ; *miel*, mél ; *bien*, béne ; *lièvre*, léporem ; *tient*, ténet ; *fièvre*, fébris ; *pierre*, pétram ; *rien*, rém ; *hièble*, ébulum.

For the vowels *ie* in -*ier* (*premier*, primarius), see below, pp. 117, 193, 196.

II. The compound vowel *ieu* comes from either **e**, as *Dieu*, Deus ; or from **o**, as *lieu*, locus.

SECTION II.

ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH CONSONANTS.

The consonants may be divided into the natural groups of (1) Liquids, (2) Labials, (3) Dentals, and (4) Gutturals, which answer to the different parts of the vocal mechanism.

Classification of Consonants

LIQUIDS.	LABIALS.	GUTTURALS.	DENTALS.	
l, m, n, r.	b, v.	g, j.	d, z (s).	soft.
	p, f.	(q, k, c) ch.	t, s (x).	hard.

§ 1. Liquids: *n, m, l, r, ll, mm, nn, rr.*

N.

This letter comes from the Latin **n, m, l.**

I. From **n**:

i. Initial: *nous,* **nos**; *non,* **non**; *nez,* **nasus.**

ii. Medial: *ruine,* **ruina**; *règne,* **regnum**; *mentir,* **mentiri.**

iii. Final: *son,* **sonus**; *raison,* **rationem**; *étain,* **stannum.**

II. From **m**:

i. Initial: *nappe,* **mappa**; *nèfle,* **mespilum**; *natte,* **matta.**

ii. Medial: *sente,* **semita**; *conter,* **computare**; *singe,* **imius**; *dame,* **dama**; *printemps,* **primum-tempus.**

iii. Final: *rien,* **rem**; *airain,* **aeramen**; *mon, ton, son,* **meum, tuum, suum.**

III. From l:

Niveau (O. Fr. *nivel*), libella; *poterne* (O. Fr. *posterne*, and very O. Fr. *posterle*), posterula; *marne* (O. Fr. *marle*), margula.

M.

This letter comes from the Latin m, n, b

I. From m:

    i. Initial: *mer*, mare; *main*, manus; *mère*, mater.

    ii. Medial: *froment*, frumentum; *chambre*, camera; *compter*, computare.

    iii. Final: *daim*, dama; *nom*, nomen; *faim*, fames.

II. From n: *nommer*, nominare; *charme*, carpinus.

III. From b: *samedi*, sabbati dies.

L.

This letter comes from the Latin l, r, n.

I. From l:

    i. Initial: *loutre*, lutra; *lettre*, littera; *langue*, lingua.

    ii. Medial: *aigle*, aquila; *fils*, filius; *cercle*, circulus; *câble*, capulum.

    iii. Final: *seul*, solus; *poil*, pilus; *sel*, sal; *sourcil*, supercilium.

II. From r: *autel*, altare; *crible*, cribrum; *palefroi*, para-veredus, in the fifth century parafredus*; *flairer*, fragare.

III. From n: *orphelin*, orphaninus*; *Palerme*, Panor-mus; *Roussillon*, Ruscinonem; *Boulogne*, Bononia; *Château-Landon*, Castellum-Nantonis.

R.

This letter comes from the Latin r, l, s, n.

I. From r :

　i. Initial : *règne*, regnum ; *déroute*, derupta.

　ii. Medial : *souris*, soricem ; *charme*, carmen ; *droit*, Low Lat. drictus *.

　iii. Final : *ver*, vermis ; *cor*, cornu ; *enfer*, infernum ; *hiver*, hibernum.

II. From l :

　i. Initial : *rossignol*, lusciniola *.[1]

　ii. Medial : *orme*, ulmus ; *remorque*, remulcum ; *esclandre*, scandalum ; *chartre*, cartula ; *chapitre*, capitulum.

III. From s : *Marseille*, Massilia ; *orfraie*, ossifraga ; *varlet*, vassaletus *.

IV. From n : *ordre*, ordinem ; *pampre*, pampinus ; *timbre*, tympanum ; *diacre*, diaconus ; *coffre*, cophinus ; *Londres*, Londinium.

LL.

This double consonant comes from the Latin ll, lia, lea, cl, gl, tl, chl.

I. From ll : *anguille*, anguilla ; *bouillir*, bullire ; *faillir*, fallere.

II. From lia, lea : *fille*, filia ; *Marseille*, Massilia ; *paille*, palea.

III. From cl, gl, tl, chl : *oreille*, auricula ; *veiller*, vigilare ; *seille*, situla ; *volaille*, volatilia ; *treille*, trichila.

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[1] This change of l into r has taken place in the late Latin texts long before the birth of the French tongue : thus, while we find lusciniola in Plautus and Varro, we find in the Merovingian MSS. only the forms rusciniola, rosciniola.

MM.

This double consonant comes from the Latin **mm, mn.**

I. From mm : *flamme*, **flamma** ; *somme*, **summa.**

II. From mn : *femme*, **femina** ; *somme*, **somnus**; *sommeil* **somniculus** * ; *homme*, **hominem.**

NN.

This comes from the Latin **mn, gn.**

I. From mn : *colonne*, **columna.**

II. From gn : *connaître*, **cognoscere.**

RR.

This double consonant comes from the Latin **tr, dr.**

I. From tr : *pierre*, **petra** ; *verre*, **vitrum** ; *larron*, **latro-nem**; *pourrir*, **putrere**; *parrain*, **patrinus**; *marraine*, **matrina.**

II. From dr : *carré*, **quadratum** ; *arrière*, **adretro** ; *carre-four*, **quadrifurcus.**

§ 2. Labials : *p, b, f (ph), v, w.*

P.

From the Latin **p** :

   i. Initial : *pain*, **panis** ; *pré*, **pratum.**

   ii. Medial : *couple*, **copula** ; *étouppe*, **stuppa** ; *sapin*, **sapinus.**

   iii. Final : *loup*, **lupus** ; *champ*, **campus** ; *cep*, **cippus.**

B.

This letter comes from the Latin **b, p, v, m.**

I. From **b** :

   i. Initial : *boire*, **bibere** ; *bon*, **bonus.**

   ii. Medial : *diable*, **diabolus** ; *arbre*, **arbor.**

   iii. Final : *plomb*, **plumbum.**

II. From **p**: *double*, **duplus**; *câble*, **capulum**; *abeille*, **apicula**.

III. From **v**: *courber*, **curvare**; *brebis*, **vervecem**; *corbeau*, **corvellus**; *Besançon*, **Vesontionem**; *Bazas*, **Vasatae**.

IV. From **m**: *flambe*, **flamma**; *marbre*, **marmor**.

F, Ph.

The French language contains a great number of scientific and learned terms, like *physique, philosophie, triomphe*, in which the Greek letter φ, Lat. **ph**, is retained. It would be superfluous to enumerate such elementary and obvious derivations; it will be enough to note that the proper French *f* comes from the Latin **f, ph, v, p.**

I. From **f, ph.**

i. Initial: *faux*, **falcem**; *faisan*, **phasianus**; *fumier*, **fimarium**.

ii. Medial: *orfraie*, **ossifraga**; *orfèvre*, **aurifaber**; *coffre*, **cophinus**.

iii. Final: *tuf*, **tofus**.

II. From **v**:

i. Initial: *fois*, **vicem**.   (For the change of the Latin **i** into **oi**, see page 62.)

ii. Medial: *palefroi*, **parafredus** *, the common Latin form for **paraveredus.**

iii. Final: *vif*, vivus; *suif*, **sevum**; *nef*, **navem**; *bœuf*, **bovem**; *œuf*, **ovum**; *sauf*, **salvus**; *serf*, **servum**; *cerf*, **cervum**.

III. From **p**: *chef*, **caput**; *nèfle*, **mespilum**; *fresaie*, **praesaga.**

V.

This letter comes from the Latin **v, b, p.**

I. From **v** :

    i. Initial: *viorne*, **viburnum**; *viande*, **vivenda**[1].

    ii. Medial: *chauve*, **calvus**; *gencive*, **gengiva**.

II. From **b** : *fève*, **faba**; *cheval*, **caballus**; *avoir*, **habere**; *lèvre*, **labrum**; *souvent*, **subinde**; *ivre*, **ebrius**; *avant*, **abante**; *livre*, **liber, libra**; *niveau*, **libella**; *prouver*, **probare**; *Vervins*, **Verbinum**.

III. From **p** : *rive*, **ripa**; *sève*, **sapa**; *louve*, **lupa**; *cheveu*, **capillum**; *chèvre*, **capra**; *savon*, **saponem**; *savoir*, **sapere**; *crever*, **crepare**.

§ 3. Dentals: *t, th, d, s, z, x.*

T.

This letter comes from the Latin **t, d.**

I. From **t** :

    i. Initial: *toison*, **tonsionem**; *taon*, **tabanus**.

    ii. Medial: *matière*, **materia**; *etat*, **status**; *château*, **castellum**.

    iii. Final: *huit*, **octo**; *cuit*, **coctus**; *fait*, **factus**.

II. From **d** : *dont*, **de-unde**; *vert*, **viridis**; *souvent*, **subinde**; *Escaut*, **Scaldis**.

The Greek *th* is only found in technical and learned terms, such as *théocratie, théologie*, &c.

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[1] Originally *viande* signified vegetable as well as animal nutriment. Rabelais tells us 'les poires sont *viandes* très salubres'; and, so late as 1607, in his tragedy, *Le Triomphe de la Ligue*, Nereus says, speaking of God,

    'Il donne la *viande* aux jeunes passereaux'—
a line from which Racine drew his famous

    'Aux petits des oiseaux il donne la pâture.'

D.

This letter comes from the Latin d, t.

I. From d:

i. Initial: *devoir*, debere; *dans*, de-intus; *dîme*, decimus.

ii. Medial: *tiède*, tepidus; *émeraude*, smaragdus; *vendre*, vendere.

iii. Final : *sourd*, surdus ; *muid*, modius ; *froid*, frigidus.

II. From t:

i. Initial: *donc*, tunc.

ii. Medial: *coude*, cubitus; *Adour*, Aturis; *Lodève*, Luteva.

iii. Final : *lézard*, lacerta ; *marchand*, mercantem*.

S.

This letter comes from the Latin s, c, t.

I. From s :

i. Initial: *seul*, solus; *serment*, sacramentum ; *sous*, subtus.

ii. Medial: *cerise*, cerasus; *maison*, mansionem; *asperge*, asparagus ; *Gascogne*, Vasconia.

iii. Final : *mais*, magis ; *épars*, sparsus ; *sous*, subtus ; *moins*, minus.

II. From t followed by the compound vowels ia, ie, io, iu:

ii. Medial: *poison*, potionem ; *raison*, rationem ; *oiseux*, otiosus ; *Venise*, Venetia ; *saison*, sationem ; *trahison*, traditionem ; *liaison*, ligationem.

iii. Final: *palais*, palatium ; *tiers*, tertius.

III. From a soft c:

i. Initial: *sangle*, cingulum.

ii. Medial: *plaisir*, placere ; *voisin*, vicinus ; *moisir*,

mucere; *oiseau* (O. Fr. *oisel*, from the common Latin form aucellus*), avicellus; *Amboise*, Ambacia.

Note that the double consonant *ss* comes either from the Latin **x**; as, for example, *essai*, exagium; *essaim*, examen; *laisser*, laxare; *essorer*, exaurare: or from **ss**, as *casser*, quassare; *fosse*, fossa: [or from **ds**, as *assérer*, adserere].

Z

This letter comes from the Latin **s** or soft **c**.

I. From **s**: *chez*, casa; *nez*, nasus; *rez*, rasus (in *rez-de-chaussée*); *assez*, ad-satis; *lèz*, latus, as in *Plessis-lèz-Tours, Passy-lèz-Paris.*

II. From a soft **c**: *lézard*, lacerta; *onze*, undecim; *douze*, duodecim, &c.

X.

From the Latin **x**, **s**, **c**.

I. From **x**: *six*, sex; *soixante*, sexaginta.

II. From **s**: *deux*, dous; *toux*, tussis; *époux*, sponsus; *roux*, russus; *oiseux*, otiosus; *vineux*, vinosus.

III. From **c**: *dix*, decem; *voix*, vocem; *noix*, nucem; *paix*, pacem; *chaux*, calcem; *faux*, falcem.

§ 4. Gutturals: *c, q, k, ch, g, j, h.*

C

C is pronounced gutturally before *a, o,* and *u,* and is then called *hard*: before *e, i,* and *œ,* it is pronounced as a dental, and is called *soft.*

I. **C** hard. From the hard **c** of the Latin, or its equivalent **q**:

i. Initial: *coque*, concha; *coquille*, conchylium; *car*, quare; *casser*, quassare; *coi*, quietus.

ii. Medial: *second*, secundus; *chacun* (O. Fr. *chascun*), quisque-unus.

iii. Final: *lacs*, laqueus; *onc*, unquam; *sec*, siccus.

II. **C** soft.   From the Latin **c** soft: *ciment*, caementum; *ciel*, caelum; *cité*, citatem* (a common Latin form much used under the Empire for **civitatem**).

K.

This letter is employed only in French terms of mensuration, as the barbarous equivalent for the Greek χ, which ought properly to be rendered by *ch*: thus *kilomètre* is a double barbarism for *chiliomètre*, χιλιόμετρον.

Q.

This letter comes from the Latin **c** *hard*, qu, ch.

i. Initial: *quel*, qualis; *queue*, cauda; *queux*, coquus.

ii. Medial: *tranquille*, tranquillus; *coquille*, conchylium.

iii. Final: *cinq*, quinque.

CH.

From the Latin **c** *hard*[1]:

i. Initial: *chef*, caput; *chose*, causa; *chandelle*, candela; *chandeleur*, candelarum [festa]; *chèvre*, capra.

ii. Medial: *bouche*, bucca; *miche*, mica; *perche*, pertica; *fourche*, furca; *mouche*, musca; *sécher*, siccare.

iii. Final: *Auch*, Auscia.

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[1] And from the Greek χ in such technical terms as *chirographe* (χειρόγραφος), *chaos* (χάος), &c.

G *hard.*

From the Latin g *hard,* c *hard,* q, v, n.

I. From a hard **g** :

   i. Initial: *goujon,* gobionem ; *goût,* gustus.

   ii. Medial: *angoisse,* angustia ; *sangle,* cingulum.

   iii. Final: *long,* longus; *étang,* stagnum; *poing,* pugnus.

II. From a hard **c** :

   i. Initial: *gobelet,* cupelletum* ; *gras,* crassus ; *gonfler,* conflare.

   ii. Medial: *maigre,* macrum ; *langouste,* locusta ; *viguier,* vicarius ; *cigogne,* ciconia.

III. From **v**: *Gascogne,* Vasconia ; *gui,* viscum ; *gué,* vadum ; *gaine,* vagina ; *guêpe,* vespa ; *sergent,* servientem ; *Gard,* Vardo ; *Gapençais,* Vapincensium ; *gâter* (O. Fr. *gaster*), vastare ; *guivre,* vipera.

IV. From a Latin n followed by a vowel : *cigogne,* ciconia ; *Digne,* Dinia ; *Auvergne,* Arvernia ; *oignon,* unionem ; *Boulogne,* Bononia.

G *soft.*

From the Latin **g** and the suffixes ia, io—ea, eo, eu.

I. From **g** :

   i. Initial: *gencive,* gingiva ; *géant,* gigantem ; *geindre,* gemere.

   ii. Medial : *large,* largus.

II. From the diphthongs ia, io—ea, eo.

We learn from Quinctilian that the Roman i and j had originally the same sound. For a long time a great uncertainty existed as to the use of these two letters. Old MSS. and, after them, printed books down to the middle of the seventeenth century, use *i* and *j* indifferently : it was not till

the year 1750 that the French Academy treated *j* in their
Dictionary as an independent letter. This is why the Latin i
in some cases has become *j* in French (or *g* soft, which is the
same thing)[1]. **Hierosolyma, simia, diurnus, vindemia,** have
passed into *Jérusalem, singe, jour, vendange,* proving clearly
that the popular pronunciation of these words was **Hjeroso-
lyma, simja, djurnus, vindemja.** This once granted, it is
easy to see how **pipionem, tibia, rabies, Dibionem, dilu-
vium, cambiare*, abbreviare,** &c., have respectively passed
into *pigeon, tige, rage, Dijon, déluge, changer, abréger,* &c.
In these words two successive alterations have taken place:
(1) from *i* into *j*, or (as the Germans call it) the 'consoni-
fication' of the letter *i* (thus **pipionem** is pronounced **pipjo-
nem; rabies, rabjes; Dibionem, Dibjonem,** &c.); (2) as
this change of *i* into *j* brought two consonants together, and
into a sort of collision (**pipionem** becoming **pipjonem,** &c.),
a second result ensued, and (as we will show later on[2]) the
first of the two consonants disappeared; **subjectus,** becoming
sujet, **dorsum,** *dos;* and similarly **pipjonem, tibja, rabjes,**
&c., becoming **pijonem, tija, rajes,** &c., whence again come
pigeon, tige, rage, &c.

Similarly, ea, eo, eu, pass into *je, ge,* &c. In the regular
Latin forms **lanea, commeatus, cavea, hordeum, deusque,**
the **e** was soon replaced by **i,** and, long before Merovingian
days, inscriptions give us as the usual forms, **lania, com-
miatus, cavia, hordium, diusque.** These diphthongs ia, iu,
next turned their i into j after the rule just explained; and
then **lania, commiatus, cavia, hordium, diusque,** having
become **lanja, comjatus, cavja, hordjum, djusque,** passed
naturally into *lange, congé, cage, orge, jusque,* &c.

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[1] It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the French
j is always a soft sibilant, not a soft mute, like our *j*.
[2] See p. 91.

J.

From the Latin **j, g, i.**

I. From **j**:

i. Initial: *Jean*, **Johannes**; *jeûne*, **jejunium**; *jeune*, **juvenis**.

ii. Medial: *parjure*, **perjurium.**

II. From **g**: *jouir*, **gaudere**; *jumeau*, **gemellus**; *jaune*, **galbinus**; *Anjou*, **Andegavi.**

III. From **i**: *Jérusalem*, **Hierosolyma**; *jour*, **diurnum**; *Jérôme*, **Hieronymus**; *goujon*, **gobionem**; *Dijon*, **Dibionem.**

H.

From the Latin **h, f.**

I. From **h**: *homme*, **hominem**; *hier*, **heri**; *hui* (in the word *aujourd'hui*), **hodie.**

II. From **f**: *hors*. **foris**; *hormis*, **foris-missum**[1].

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE LATIN ALPHABET.

The history of the French Alphabet has led us from effect to cause, from French to Latin; and we have ascended the stream of transformation to its source. We must now follow the reverse course, in studying the history of the Latin letters, examining and describing the modifications they have undergone before descending into the French Alphabet. To avoid useless repetition, we will give as few examples as possible,

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[1] *Hâbler* does not come directly from the Latin **fabulari**, but from the Spanish *hablar*, and cannot be traced back beyond the sixteenth century. The Latin *f* followed by a vowel is always commuted into *h* in Spanish, if at the beginning of a word. Thus **fabulari, facere, faba, formica**, become *hablar, hacer, haba, hormigua.*

and will refer our reader back to the paragraphs of the first part of this subject, where he will find a sufficient number of illustrations gathered together.

SECTION I.

HISTORY OF THE LATIN VOWELS.

Every word is composed of an accented or *tonic* syllable, and of one or more *atonic*, or unaccented syllables, which either precede or follow the *tonic* syllable. For example, in the word **mercátus** the a is the *tonic* vowel; e and u the *atonic* vowels. In writing the history of the Latin vowels we may study first those which are accented or *tonic*, then those which are unaccented or *atonic*.

§ 1. *Accented or Tonic Vowels.*

Among accented vowels we may distinguish (1) the short, (2) the long, (3) those long by position (i. e. followed by two consonants). This subdivision may seem too fine and minute; still, it is in reality an important one, as will be seen by an example. **Fĕrum, avēna, ferrum,** have each an accented e; but their resultants in French are very different from one another :—the short e becomes *ie*, as **fĕrus,** *fier*; the long becomes *oi*, as **avēna,** *avoine*; the e long by position remains *e*, as **ferrum,** *fer*.

A. (1) ă usually becomes *ai* in French: **ămo,** *aime*; **măcer,** *maigre*. (2) ā becomes *e*: **nāsus,** *nez*; **amāre,** *aimer*; **mortālis,** *mortel*. (3) a long by position remains *a* in French: **arbor,** *arbre*; **carrus,** *char*; **carmen,** *charme*.

E. (1) ĕ becomes *ie*: **lĕvium,** *liège*; **fĕrus,** *fier*. (2) ē becomes *oi*: **rēgem,** *roi*; **lēgem,** *loi*. (3) e long by position suffers no change: **terra,** *terre*; **lepra,** *lèpre*.

I. (1) ĭ becomes *oi*: **pĭrum,** *poire*; **pĭlus,** *poil*; **nĭger,** *noir*; **fĭdes,** *foi*. (2) ī suffers no change: **spīca,** *épi*;

amīcus, *ami*; spīna, *épine*. (3) i long by position becomes *e*: siccus, *sec*; cippus, *cep*; crista, *crête*; firmus, *ferme*.

O. (1) ŏ becomes *eu*: nŏvem, *neuf*; mŏla, *meule*; prŏba, *preuve*. (2) ō gives also *eu*: mōbilis, *meuble*; sōlus, *seul*; hōra, *heure*. (3) o long by position remains unchanged: corpus, *corps*; fortis, *fort*; mortem, *mort*; ponere, pon're, *pondre*.

U. (1) ŭ becomes *ou*: lŭpus, *loup*; jŭgum, *joug*; cŭbo, *couver*. (2) ū remains unchanged: mūrus, *mur*; acūtus, *aigu*; pūrus, *pur*. (3) u long by position becomes *ou*: ursus, *ours*; gutta, *goutte*; surdus, *sourd*; turris, *tour*[1].

AE. ae becomes *e* or *ie*: Caesar, *César*; caelum, *ciel*; laeta, *lie*[2].

AU. au becomes o; causa, *chose*; aurum, *or*; auricula, *oreille*.

§ 2. *Atonic Vowels.*

The tonic vowel of a Latin word always survives in French: it is not so with the atonic vowels. If we would understand what happens to them in passing into French, we must study (1) those which precede the tonic syllable (as the e in mercátum), and (2) those which follow it (as the u in mercátum).

(1) *Atonic Vowels which precede the Tonic Syllable.*

We may subdivide these into two classes: (*a*) atonics which *immediately* precede the tonic syllable (as the second

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[1] Note here that short accented vowels in Latin are always represented by diphthongs in French : ă, ĕ, ĭ, ŏ, ŭ, becoming respectively *ai, ie, oi, eu, ou.*

[2] *Lie*, the Old French signifying 'joyful,' has survived in the expression 'faire chère *lie*' (literally 'to wear a glad face'), to greet one with a smiling face, give one a warm welcome, and thence to give one a good dinner, a well-known form of welcome.

i in vindicáre), and (*b*) those which precede it, but not immediately (as the first i in vindicáre).

(*a*) *Those which immediately precede the tonic syllable.* These, if long, invariably remain unchanged : perēgrínus, *pèlerin* ; coemētérium, *cimetière*, &c.   If short, they disappear[1]; sanĭtátem, *santé*; bonĭtátem, *bonté*; christianĭtátem, *chrétienté* ; posĭtúra, *posture*; septĭmána, *semaine* ; clarĭtátem, *clarté*; comĭtátem, *comté*; clerĭcátus, *clergé*[2]; &c.

(*b*) *Those which precede the tonic syllable, but not immediately.* Short or long, these vowels are always retained in French : vestiméntum, *vêtement* ; ornaménta, *ornement*, &c.

(2) *Atonic Vowels which come after the Tonic Syllable.*

By the rule of Latin accentuation these vowels can occupy only one of two positions : that is, either in the penultimate syllable (as u in tábula) or in the last syllable (as the u in mercátum).

(*a*) *In the penultimate syllable.*   As this case occurs only when the word is accented on the antepenultimate (third syllable counting from the end of the word), it is always a short syllable in Latin : as saécŭlum, lúrĭdus, túmŭlus, pértĭca, pónĕre, légĕre, fácĕre, &c.   This vowel, being overborne by the tonic syllable, was scarcely sounded at all, and, though the high-born Roman may have indicated it in his speech, it is certain that the common people dropped all such delicacies of pronunciation.   In all the fragments of popular Latin that still remain with us (the ' Graffiti' of Pompeii, inscriptions, epitaphs, &c.) the short penultimate is

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[1] This suppression of the short *atonic* vowel had already taken place in vulgar Latin, as we have shown in the Introduction, p. 45.

[2] Except when they are the vowels of the first syllable of a word (as biláncem, cabállus, *balance*, *cheval*) ; for in this case the first syllable could not disappear without so mutilating the word as to destroy its identity.

gone : instead of cómputum, oráculum, tábŭla, saécŭlum, pósĭtus, móbĭlis, víncĕre, suspéndĕre, &c., we find only cómptum, oráclum, tábla, saéclum, póstus, móblis, víncre, suspéndre, &c.[1]　Then, when this common Latin became French, the words thus contracted became in their turn *compte, oracle, table, siècle, poste, meuble, vaincre, suspendre*, &c.

It is not necessary to say more about this law : we may simply express it as follows :—*When a Latin word is accented on the antepenult, the penultimate vowel always disappears in the French word derived from it.*

(*b*) *In the last syllable.* • This disappears in French : síccus, *sec* ; cabállus, *cheval* ; pórcus, *porc* ; máre, *mer* ; mortális, *mortel* ;—or else (which comes to the same thing) it drops into an e mute : cúpa, *coupe* ; fírmus, *ferme*, &c.

SECTION II.

HISTORY OF THE LATIN CONSONANTS.

As we have seen above, consonants fall into natural groups (Liquids, Labials, Dentals, and Gutturals), answering to the various parts of the vocal machinery.　The permutations that go on between Latin and French consonants rest on two principles.

1. Permutations take place between consonants of the same class (that is, those formed by the same organ). Given, for example, the group of labials *p, b, v, f.*　We know that these letters will be interchanged, and that permutation will not pass beyond their limits.　Thus the Latin b becomes in French either *b* (as *arbre* from arbor), or *v* (as *couver* from cubare) ; but it will never be able to pass into, let us say, *z* or *g*.

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[1] M. Schuchardt, in his *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, ii. 35, has collected a vast number of examples of this law.

2. In addition to the fact that permutation is limited to the letters within each group, we must also notice that even within the limits of each group permutation does not go on by chance. Thus in the labial group *p, b, v, f,* we have [1] two strong consonants, *p* and *f,* and two weak ones, *b* and *v.* All transmutation is from strong to weak. Thus the Latin **b** never becomes *p* in French, while the contrary transition is frequent.

We propose to refer back, as much as we can, to the examples given under the history of the French Alphabet. In addition to the simple letters we will consider also the composite ones (**lr, mr,** &c.); for they produce in French many interesting combinations.

§ 1. *Liquids* : **l, m, n, r.**

L.

This letter becomes in French, *l, r, u.* For examples we refer the reader to these letters, above, pp. 66, 67.

tl becomes *ll* or *il*: **sítula, sit'la,** *seille*; **vétulus, vet'lus,** *vieil*.

In this and the following instances the two consonants are brought together by the loss of the atonic vowel.

cl, when *initial,* is unchanged in French: **clarus,** *clair.* When *final,* it becomes *ll* or *il*: **oculus,** *œil*; **apícula, apic'la,** *abeille*; **auricula,** *oreille*.

gl, when *initial,* is unchanged: **gladiolus,** *glaïeul.* When *medial* or *final,* it becomes *ll* or *il*: **vigiláre,** *veiller*; **coaguláre** (O. Fr. *coailler*), *cailler*; **tégula,** *tuile*.

pl, when *initial,* is unchanged: **plorare,** *pleurer. Final,* it becomes *il*: **scópulus,** *écueil*.

bl, fl, always remain unchanged: **ébulum,** *hièble*; **inflare,** *enfler*.

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[1] See the tabular statement of the consonants on p. 65.

M.

In French m becomes *m, n, b*. For examples see above, pp. 65, 66, 68.

mn becomes *mm, m*: fémina, *femme*; hóminem, *homme*; nomináre, *nommer*; lámina, *lame*; dómina, *dame*; exámen, *essaim*.

mt becomes *t, nt*, or remains unchanged: dormitórium, *dortoir*; computáre, *conter*; semitárium, *sentier*; cómitem, *comte*.

N.

In French *n, r, l*. For examples see above, pp. 65–67.

nm becomes *m*: ánima, *âme*; Hierónymus, *Jérôme*.

ns becomes *s*: mansionem, *maison*; mensem, *mois*; insula (O. Fr. *isle*), *île*; sponsus, *époux*; constare (O. Fr. *couster*), *coûter*; in all these cases the vowel is also affected.

rn always drops the n at the end of words: furnum, *four*; cornu, *cor*; djurnum, *jour*; hibernum, *hiver*; albernum, *aubour*; carnem, *chair*.

R.

In French *r, l*. For examples see above, pp. 66, 67.

rs or rc becomes *s*: dorsum, *dos*; persica (O. Fr. *pesche*), *pêche*; Lat. quercus, Low Lat. quercinus, O. Fr. *caisne*, *chesne*, Fr. *chêne*[1].

We must add to these changes another of no small importance, which we may call the intercalation, or insertion, of fresh letters between two liquids. Words such as humĭlis, cumŭlus, &c., whose short penultimate dropped away (see above, pp. 44, 45) become hum'lis, cum'lus, &c. Now this

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[1] Quercinus* was so early corrupted into casnus* that we find this latter word, used for an oak, in a Chartulary dated A.D. 508. From casnus came in the eleventh century the O. Fr. *caisne*, then *chesne*, then *chêne*.

combination of two liquids being unpleasant to the ear, the letter *b* was intercalated, and thus **hum'lis** became *hum(b)le*, **cum'lus** passed into *com(b)le*, &c.

These are the intercalations:

1. **ml** becomes *mbl*: **simulo**, *semble*; **insimul**, *ensemble*.

2. **mr** becomes *mbr* : **numerus**, *nombre* ; **camera**, *chambre*; **Cameracum**, *Cambrai*; **cucumerem**, *concombre*.

3. **lr** becomes *udr* through *ldr*: **molere** (O. Fr. *moldre*), *moudre*; **fulgur** (O. Fr. *foldre*), *foudre*; **pulverem** (O. Fr. *poldre*), *poudre*. The Old French forms indicate the method of the change more clearly than the modern forms do.

4. **nl** becomes *ngl*: **spinula**, *épingle*.

5. **nr** becomes *ndr* : **ponere**, *pondre* ; **gener**, *gendre* ; **tener**, *tendre*; **Portus-Veneris**, *Port-Vendres* ; **veneris-dies**, *vendredi*; **minor**, *moindre*.

§ 2. *Dentals*: t, d, z, s.

T.

t becomes in French *t, d, s.* For examples see above, pp. 70, 71.

It disappears from the ends of words, whenever, in the Latin, it stands between two vowels: **gratum**, *gré*; **amatum**, *aimé*; **minutus**, *menu* ; **virtutem**, *vertu* ; **acutus**, *aigu* ; **scutum**, *écu*; **abbatem**, *abbé*. It also disappears from the middle of words: **catena** (O. Fr. *chaëne*), *chaîne* ; **maturus** (O. Fr. *meür*), *mûr*; &c. This subject will be treated of more fully when we deal with the Syncopation of Consonants.

tr becomes *r*: **fratrem**, *frère* ; **matrem**, *mère* ; **patrem**, *père* ; **Matrona**, *Marne* ;—also *rr* : **vitrum**, *verre* ; **putrere**, *pourrir*; **nutritus**, *nourri* ; **latronem**, *larron* ; **matricularius** (O. Fr. *marreglier*), *marguillier*.

st becomes sometimes (but rarely) *ss* : **angustia**, *angoisse* ; **testonem*** (from **testa**), *tesson.*

D.

In French *d, t*.   For examples see above, pp. 71, 72.

dr becomes *r*: occidere, *occire*; cathedra, *chaire*; credere, *croire*; quadragesima (O. Fr. *caraesme*), *carême*.

dj, dv drop the dental: adjuxtare*, *ajouter*; advenire, *avenir*.

nd becomes *nt*: subinde, *souvent*; pendita, *pente*, &c.

S, Z, X.

s becomes *s, c, z*.   For examples see above, pp. 71, 72.

sr becomes first *str*, then, by dropping the *s* (indicated by the circumflex accent on the vowel before it), it is reduced to *tr*: crescere, *croître*; pascere, *paître*; cognoscere, *connaître*; essere*, *être* (for this verb see Book II. Chap. I. on the Auxiliary Verbs).

st, sp, sc, as *initials*, become *est, esp, esc*; stare, *ester*; scribere, *écrire* (O. Fr. *escrire*); sperare, *espérer*.   This fact is only noticed here; it will be more fully treated in the chapter on the Addition of Letters.

x becomes *ss*: exagium*, *essai*; examen, *essaim*; laxare, *laisser*; axilla, *aisselle*; coxa, *cuisse*; exire, *issu*, past part. of *issir*.

§ 3. *Gutturals*: c, ch, gh, q, g, j, h.

C.

The soft **c** becomes in French *ç, s, z, x*; the hard **c** becomes *c, ch, g, i*.   For examples see above, pp. 59, 71–74.

c between two vowels disappears, if at the end of a word: focum, *feu*; jocum, *jeu*; paucum, *peu*; Aucum, *Eu*; Saviniacum, *Savigny*[1].

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[1] The Celtic *ak*, latinised into acum, indicated possession. To designate the lands of **Albinus** or **Sabinus**, the Gallo-Romans fabricated the names **Albini-acum, Sabini-acum.**

cl : already treated of, p. 81.

ct : already treated of, p. 70.

Q

See just above, under the *hard* **c.**

G.

g becomes in French *g*, *j*, *i*. For examples see above, pp. 74, 76.

gm becomes *m* : pigmentum, *piment* ; phlegma, *flegme.*

gn becomes *n* : malignum, *malin* ; benignum, *bénin.*

gd becomes *d* : smaragda, *émeraude* ; Magdalena, *Madeleine* ; frigidus, *froid.*

J.

See above, p. 76.

H.

See above, p. 76.

This letter is often dropped at the beginning of words : habere, *avoir* ; homo, *on* ; hora, *or* ; hordeum, *orge* ; hoc-illud (O. Fr. *oïl*), *oui.*

§ 4. *Labials* : p, b, f, ph, v.

P.

p becomes *p, b, v.* For examples see above, pp. 68, 69, 70.

ps, pt, pn, as *initials.* This sound is unknown in French, so that the **p** is dropped in all these cases : ptisana, *tisane* ; pneuma, *neume* ; psalmus, O. Fr. *saume.* Where we find

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This termination in the south became *ac*, in the north *ay, é,* or *y.* Thus **Sabiniacum** is in the south of France *Savignac* ; but in the north it becomes *Savenay, Sévigné,* or *Savigny.* **Albiniacum** similarly is in the south *Aubignac* ; in the north, *Aubenay, Aubigné, Aubigny.* Final *é* seems most common in the west of France ; final *y* in the centre ; final *ay* in Champagne and the east. But the distinction is not well marked, and we must not lay too much stress on it.

these sounds reproduced in full, as in *psaume, psallette*, &c., we may be sure that we have before us completely modern words.

pt, in the middle of words, is changed into *t, d*: **captivus**, *chétif*; **derupta**, *déroute*; **rupta**, *route*; **scriptus**, *écrit*; **ad-captare***, *acheter*; **male-aptus**[1], *malade*; **grupta***[2], *grotte*. The words *apte, captif, crypte, rupture*, &c., are modern.

B.

b becomes *b, v*.   For examples see above, pp. 68, 70.

bt, bs, bj, bm lose their **b** when they pass into French, and become *d* or *t, s, j, m*: **cubitus**, *coude*; **dubitum**, *doute*; **debitum**, *dette*; **subjectum**, *sujet*; **submissum**, *soumis*.

br becomes *ur*: **abrotonum**, *aurone*; **fabrica** (O. Fr. *faurge*), *forge*.

F, Ph.

See above, p. 69.

V.

v becomes *v, f, b, g*.   For examples see above, pp. 68, 69, 70, 74.

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[1] **Aptus** becomes in Old French *ate*, in Provençal *ade*. *Ate* and *ade* in the twelfth century bear the sense of being in good health; thus *malade*, **male-aptus**, is one who is in bad health.

[2] **Crypta** became **crupta*** in the vulgar Latin of the sixth century; and we find this word in a Latin text of the year A.D. 887 in the form of **grupta***, whence the French *grotte*.

PART II.

THE TRANSPOSITION, ADDITION, AND SUBTRACTION OF LETTERS.

CHAPTER I.

OF TRANSPOSITION (OR METATHESIS).

When the letters of a derived word are arranged in an order different from that which they held in the word from which it came, as when the gn of the Latin stagnum becomes *ng* in the French derivative *étang*, we say that it has suffered *metathesis* (μετάθεσις), that is to say, transposition.

SECTION I.

TRANSPOSITION OF CONSONANTS.

N: *étang*, stagnum; *poing*, pugnus; *teignant*, tingentem.

L: *Lot*, Oltis.

R: *pour*, pro; *treuil*, torculus; *pauvreté*, paupertatem; *truffe*, tuber; *troubler*, turbulare *; *Durance*, Druentia; *brebis*, vervecem; *tremper*, temperare; *fromage*, formaticum; *trombe*, turbo.

SECTION II.

TRANSPOSITION OF VOWELS.

The vowel *i* is often drawn towards the vowel which precedes it, whence results a necessary transposition: as in *gloire*, gloria; *histoire*, historia; *mémoire*, memoria; *juin*, junius; *muid*, modius; *faisan*, phasianus.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE ADDITION OF LETTERS.

The letters added to the primitive word may be (1) *prosthetic* (πρόσθεσις), that is to say, put at the beginning of a word; (2) *epenthetic* (ἐπένθεσις), or put in the body of a word; (3) *epithetic* (ἐπίθεσις), or put at the end of a word[1].

SECTION I.

ADDITION AT THE BEGINNING OF A WORD (PROSTHESIS).

§ 1. *Vowels.*

Before the initial sounds *sc*, *sm*, *sp*, *st* (which are hard for them to pronounce), the French placed an *e*, so rendering the sound more easy by doubling the *s*: *espace*, **spatium**; *espèce*, **species**; *espérer*, **sperare**; *estomac*, **stomachum**; *esclandre*, **scandalum**; *esprit*, **spiritus**; *ester*, **stare**; *escabeau*, **scabellum**; *escient*, **scientem**; *esclave*, **slavus** *; *escalier*, **scalarium**[2]. After the sixteenth century many of these words underwent a further modification: the *s* was dropped, and its suppression was marked by the acute accent, placed upon the initial *é*: *état*, **statum**; *épice*, **species**; *échelle*, **scala**; *écrin*, **scrinium**; *étain*, **stannum**; *étable*, **stabulum**; *étude*, **studium**; *épais*, **spissus**; *école*, **schola**; *étroit*, **strictus**;

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[1] These technical names, borrowed from the Greek grammarians, are here preserved, because they are in use, and are convenient in point of brevity.

[2] As has often been said, the French language springs not from the literary Roman tongue, but from the popular or vulgar Latin. Now, in the fifth and sixth centuries, the vulgar Latin had ceased to say **spatium, sperare, stare**, &c., pronouncing these words as **ispatium, isperare, istare**, as one sees by Merovingian inscriptions and diplomas. This i, thus prefixed by the people to facilitate the emission of these sounds, becomes *e* in French: **ispatium**, *espace*; **istare**, *ester*; **isperare**, *espérer*; &c.

époux, sponsus; *épine*, spina; *épi*, spica; *étoile*, stella; *épée*, spatha; *Écosse*, Scotia[1].

By a false assimilation *é* or *es* has been also prefixed to a number of words which, in the Latin, had no *s*: as, *écorce*, corticem; *escarboucle*, carbunculus, &c.

§ 2. *Consonants.*

1. *h* prefixed: *huit*, octo; *huile*, oleum; *haut*, altus; *huitre*, ostrea; *hièble*, ebulum; *hache*, ascia; *huis*[2], ostium; *hurler*, ullare * (vulgar Latin form of ulŭlare).

2. *g* prefixed: *grenouille*[3], ranuncula.

3. *t* prefixed: *tante* (O. Fr. *ante*[4]), amita.

4. *l* prefixed (by the junction of the article with the word): *Lille*, illa-insula; *lierre*, hedera; *luette*, uvetta; *lors*, hora; *lendemain*, O. Fr. *l'endemain*[5]; cp. also *loriot*, for *l'oriol*, the goldfinch.

SECTION II.

ADDITIONS IN THE BODY OF THE WORD (EPENTHESIS).

1. *h* added: *Cahors*, Cadurci; *envahir*, invadere; *trahir*, tradere; *trahison*, traditionem. In the middle ages, which were more in sympathy with both the etymology and the history of the words, these derivatives were more logically written *envaïr, traïr, traïson.*

2. *m* added: *lambruche*, labrusca.

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[1] We pass over technical terms, like *scandale, stérile, stoïque,* &c.

[2] For *huis* and its derivative *huissier,* see p. 63.

[3] *Grenouille* in Old French is *renouille*, a form which does not come from the classical ranúncula, but from the vulgar Latin ranúcla, a word which is often met with in MSS. of the sixth century.   On the change of *cl* into *il* (ranucla, renouille), see above, p. 81.   [4] Cp. the English *aunt.*

[5] Instead of saying *le lendemain, le lierre, la luette,* which are gross errors of the fifteenth century, the more correct forms *l'endemain, l'ierre, l'uette,* were in use throughout the middle ages.

3. *n* added: *langouste*, locusta; *lanterne*, laterna; *Angoulême*, Iculisma; *convoîter*, cupitare *; *concombre*, cucumerem; *jongleur*, joculatorem; *peintre*, pictorem.

4. *r* added: *fronde*, funda; *perdrix*, perdicem; *trésor*, thesaurus.

5. For the addition of a *b* between the liquids, *mr, ml,* &c. (as *chambre*, camera, &c.), see above, pp. 82, 83.

SECTION III.

ADDITION AT THE END OF A WORD (EPITHESIS).

s added: *tandis*, tam diu; *jadis*, jam diu; *sans*, sine; *certes*, certe, &c.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SUBTRACTION, OR DROPPING, OF LETTERS.

Letters withdrawn from the primitive words may be taken from (1) the beginning of the word (*aphaeresis*, ἀφαίρεσις); or (2) from the body of the word (*syncope*, συγκοπή); or (3) from the end (*apocope*, ἀποκοπή).

SECTION I.

OMISSION FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORD (APHAERESIS).

§ 1. *Of Vowels.*

Boutique, apotheca; *blé*, ablatum; *diamant*, adamantem; *Natolie*, Anatolia; *migraine*, ἡμικρανία; *Gers*, Egirius; *leur*, illorum; *le*, ille; *sciatique*, ischidiacus; *riz*, oryza.

§ 2. *Of Consonants.*

Tisane, ptisana; *neume*, pneuma; *pâmer*, spasmare *; *loir*, gliris; *or*, hora; *orge*, hordeum; *on*, homo; *avoir*, habere.

SECTION II.

OMISSION FROM THE BODY OF THE WORD (SYNCOPE).

§ 1. *Syncope of Vowels.*

We have seen (above, pp. 77–80) under what law the Latin vowels passed into the French language; the *tonic* vowel always remained, while the *atonic* vowels, if short, disappeared whether they stood immediately before the tonic vowel, as the ĭ in posĭtúra, *posture*; or were penultimate, as the ŭ in regŭla, *règle*; if long, the atonic vowel always remained.

§ 2. *Syncope of Consonants.*

In every word the consonants can occupy two positions which differ with regard to the vowels: either (1) they are followed by another consonant, as b in submissum, and then they are called 'non-medial'; or (2) they stand between two vowels, as the b in tabanus, in which case they are called 'medial.'

1. *Non-medial Consonants.* In the case of two consonants together, like bm in submissum, the former usually disappears in the French derivative: as subjectum, *sujet*; submissus, *soumis*; derupta, *déroute*; nuptiae, *noces*; captivus, *chétif*; pensare, *peser*; advocatus, *avoué*; conchylium[1], *coquille*, &c. Similarly, the Latin s which had survived in most French words up to the end of the sixteenth century (cp. the O. Fr. *aspre, pastre, paste*, from the Lat. asper, pastor, pasta*), disappeared in the seventeenth century, and the suppression was denoted by the introduction of a circumflex accent: *âpre, pâtre, pâte*[2].

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[1] The subject of the syncope of consonants has hitherto been but little studied, and it is not yet known what exact laws it follows.

[2] Except in the three words *mouche*, musca; *louche*, luscus; *citerne*, cisterna, in which the s disappeared much earlier.

2. *Medial Consonants.* The dropping out of these is an important element in the formation of the French language.

(1) Dentals, **d**: crudelis, *cruel*; sudare, *suer*; denudatus, *dénué*; medulla, *moelle*; obedire, *obéir*.

t: dotare, *douer*; mutare, *muer*; rotundus, *rond*; salutare, *saluer*.

(2) Gutturals, **c**: plicare, *plier*; jocare, *jouer*; vocalis, *voyelle*; delicatus, *délié*; precari, *prier*.

g: negare, *nier*; gigantem, *géant*; nigella, *nielle*; augustus, *août*; magister, *maître*.

(3) Labials, **b**: tabanus, *taon*; viburnum, *viorne*; habentem, *ayant*.

v: pavonem, *paon*; pavorem, *peur*; vivenda, *viande*; aïeul, aviolus *.

SECTION III.

LETTERS DROPPED AT THE END OF THE WORD (APOCOPE).

§ 1. *Apocope of Vowels.*

On this subject see above, p. 80.

§ 2. *Apocope of Consonants.*

t: gratum, *gré*; amatus, *aimé*; acutus, *aigu*; scutum, *écu*; abbatem, *abbé*; &c.

n: furnus, *four*; carnem, *chair*; cornu, *cor*; hibernum, *hiver*; diurnum, *jour*; quaternum (O. Fr. *quaier*), *cahier*; alburnum, *aubour*.

l: ho[c]-illud (O. Fr. *oïl*), *oui*; non-illud (O. Fr. *nennil*), *nenni*.

PART III.

PROSODY.

Prosody is that part of grammar which treats of those modifications of vowels which are caused by quantity and accent. Vowels can be modified in three ways. (1) In their *nature*: e. g. *a* may become *o*. The study of these modifications will be found under the head of the Permutation of Vowels on pp. 58–64. (2) In their *length*: they may be short, as in *patte*, or long, as in *pâtre*. Here we have the consideration of quantity. There is but little to be said about it, except that it is very vague in the French language; it is never certain except in such words as *mûr* (O. Fr. *meür*, Lat. maturus), which words are contractions; or in such words as *pâtre* (O. Fr. *pastre*), in which the *s* has been dropped. In these two sets of words the vowel is certainly long. (3) In their elevation or accentuation. They may be *tonic*, as the *a* in *célibat*, or *atonic*, as the *a* in *pardon*. This is the consideration of accent. Now there are four kinds of accent, which are often confounded together, although they are quite distinct:—Tonic, Grammatical, Oratorical, and Provincial.

I. *Tonic Accent.*

In the Introduction we described 'tonic accent,' or more simply 'accent,' as the incidence of the voice upon one of the syllables of a word. Thus in the word *raisón*, the tonic accent lies on the last syllable, but in *raisonnáble* it is on the penultimate.

The accented or tonic syllable is, therefore, that on which more stress is laid than on any of the others. In Greek this elevation of the voice is called τόνος or προσῳδία, words rendered in Latin by *accentus*.

This tonic accent gives to each word its special character, and has been rightly called 'the soul of the word.' In French the tonic accent always occupies one of two places: either (1) it is on the last vowel, when the termination is masculine, as *chanteúr, aimér, finír, seigneúr*; or (2) on the last vowel but one, when the termination is feminine, as *saúvage, vérre, pórche*. In Latin also the accent occupies one of two places: the penultimate, when that syllable is long, as **cantórem, amáre, finíre, seniórem**; or the antepenult, when the penultimate syllable is short, as **sylváticus, pórticus**. If the reader will compare these French and Latin examples, he will notice at once that the Latin accent survives in the French; that is to say, the accented syllable in Latin is also the accented syllable in French (**cantórem**, *chanteúr*; **amáre**, *aimér*; **finíre**, *finír*; **seniórem**, *seigneúr*).

This continuance of the Latin accent is a matter of considerable importance, and is, we may fairly say, the key to the formation of the French language. Its importance has been explained in the Introduction, to which (pp. 42–45) the reader is referred.

II. *Grammatical Accent.*

In French grammar there are three accents—acute, grave, circumflex. Accent, in this sense, is a purely grammatical sign, which has three different functions in orthography.

(1) Sometimes the accent indicates what is the proper pronunciation of certain vowels, as *bonté, règle, pôle*. (2) Sometimes it marks the suppression of certain letters, as **pastor**, *pâtre*; **asper**, *âpre*; **asinus**, *âne*; which words in Old French were *pastre, aspre, asne*. (3) And lastly it is used

to distinguish between words otherwise spelt alike, but of different significations; as, *du* and *dû*, *des* and *dès*, *la* and *là*, *sur* and *sûr*, &c.[1]

III. *Oratorical Accent.*

While the tonic accent affects syllables within words, oratorical accent (otherwise styled 'phraseological') influences words within sentences. Thus oratorical accent belongs to the domain of declamation and rhetoric, and naturally has had no influence on the transformation of Latin into French words[2]. We shall therefore have no need to trouble ourselves with it in this place.

IV. *Provincial Accent.*

By provincial accent we understand the intonation peculiar to each province, as it differs from the intonation of good Parisian pronunciation, which is taken as the standard. And this is in reality what is meant by the phrase, 'He who speaks French well has no accent'—that is, no provincial accent. The study of these characteristics of the inhabitants of certain districts does not belong to our subject, and is therefore set aside. Let us, however, say that provincial pronunciation limits itself to this—it gives a word two accents, and lowers the value of the principal (or proper) one by subjoining to it a slight half-accent on another syllable.

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[1] Cp. Littré, *Dict. Hist.* s. v. 'Accent.' The French grammatical accents which act as signs in writing differ widely from those of the Greek language, though borrowed from them. The acute, grave, and circumflex accents in Greek simply denote the tonic syllable, and the shades of intonation on that syllable. In French, on the contrary, these accents have no connection with the tonic and etymological accent, and are purely orthographic symbols.

[2] See G. Paris, *Accent latin*, p. 8.

BOOK II.

INFLEXION, OR THE STUDY OF GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

Book II will be entirely occupied with the study of inflexions; that is to say, of the modifications undergone by a noun when declined, by a verb when conjugated. The Declension of substantive, article, adjective, and pronoun, and the Conjugation of verbs, will naturally form the two divisions of this Book.

To make the study of the different parts of our subject complete, we will include under this division invariable, as well as inflected, words.

PART I.

DECLENSIONS.

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CHAPTER I.

THE SUBSTANTIVE.

Let us take in order (1) case, (2) number, and (3) gender.

SECTION I.

CASE.

Of the six cases of Latin declension, the nominative indicated the subject, the other five the 'government' or relation.

Now if we place the Latin and French languages side by side we shall see that the six cases of the mother-tongue are reduced to one in the daughter-language. How has this come about? Did those six cases exist to the end in Latin? Has the French never had more than one? We must again turn to the history of the language; it will provide us with an answer.

The tendency to simplify and reduce the number of cases was early felt in the popular Latin[1]: the cases expressed shades of thought too delicate and subtle for the coarse mind of the Barbarian. Being therefore unable to handle the learned and complicated machinery of the Latin declensions, he constructed a simple system of his own. Where the Roman distinguished by means of case-terminations the place where one is from the place to which one is going—'veniunt

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[1] See above, Introduction, p. 29.

ad domum,' 'sunt in domo'—the Barbarian, unable to grasp these finer shades, saw no use in such a distinction, and said, in either case alike, 'venio ad domum,' 'sum in domum.'

Thus, from the fifth century downwards, long before the first written records of the French language, popular Latin reduced the number of cases to two: (1) the nominative to mark the subject; and (2) that case which occurred most frequently in conversation[1], the accusative, to mark the object or relation. From that time onwards the Latin declension was reduced to this:—subject, **muru-s**; object, **muru-m**.

The French language is the product of the slow development of popular Latin; and French grammar, which was originally nothing but a continuation of the Latin grammar, inherited, and in fact possessed from its infancy, a completely regular declension: subject *mur-s*, **muru-s**; object, *mur*, **muru-m**: and people said 'ce *murs* est haut'; 'j'ai construit un *mur*[2].'

It is this declension in two cases which forms the essential difference between ancient and modern French. It disappeared in the fourteenth century (as we will explain later on), not without leaving many traces in the language, in forms which look like so many inexplicable exceptions; these, how-

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[1] This fact (which had previously been pointed out by Raynouard) was completely established by M. Paul Meyer in 1860, in an Essay before the 'École des Chartes,' with proofs drawn from the study of Latin MSS. of the Merovingian era.

[2] One can see at a glance the consequence of this distinction of cases: so long as the sense of a word is given by its form (as in Latin) and not by its position (as in modern French), inversions are possible. Consequently they are frequent in Old French. One could say equally well, 'le *rois* conduit le cheval;' or, as in Latin, 'le cheval conduit le *rois* (caball*um* conducit *rex*).' The s which marked the subject (*rois*, *rex*), made ambiguity impossible.

ever, find their explanation and historic justification in our knowledge of the Old French declension.

This Old French declension takes three forms, answering to the three Latin declensions :—

<div style="text-align:center">**1.**</div>

Sing.	{	Subjective **rósa**	*rose*
	{	Objective **rósa**-*m*	*rose*
Plur.	{	Subjective **rósae**	*roses*
	{	Objective **rósa**-*s*	*roses*

<div style="text-align:center">**2.**</div>

Sing.	{	Subjective **múru**-*s*	*murs*
	{	Objective **múru**-*m* . . .	*mur*
Plur.	{	Subjective **múr**-*i*.	*mur*
	{	Objective **múr**-*os*	*murs*

<div style="text-align:center">**3.**</div>

Sing.	{	Subjective **pástor**	*pâtre* (*pastre*[1])
	{	Objective **pástor**-*em* . .	*pasteur*
Plur.	{	Subjective **pastór**-*es* . .	*pasteurs*
	{	Objective **pastór**-*es* . .	*pasteurs*

In the subjective it ran thus : 'la *rose* est belle'; 'le *murs* est haut'; 'le *pâtre* est venu';[2] in the objective, 'j'ai vu la *rose*, le *mur*, le *pasteur*,' &c.

On looking into these declensions one is struck with two facts: (1) that the Latin accent is always respected; and

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[1] *Pâtre*, in Old French *pastre*. *Pastre* and *pasteur* were not in Old French two distinct words ; they were only the two cases of the same word.

[2] In all these examples of Old French, we ought to have written *li murs, li pastre*, not *le murs, le pâtre, li* being the nominative singular, and *le* the accusative (as may be seen below, p. 110, in the chapter on the Article) : but as we wish to pass gradually from the known to the unknown, we have for the moment sacrificed correctness to convenience.

(2) that (with one exception) Old French takes *s* whenever the Latin had it: or, to express the matter more briefly, French declension rests on the natural laws of derivation.

Between Latin, a synthetic language, and Modern French, which is analytic, there was an intermediate and transitional, or semi-synthetic, period. This transition period is marked by the Old French declension, which indicates a resting-point between synthesis and analysis[1]. Yet even this system was too complicated for the minds of men in the thirteenth century; it was considered in that century that just as the Barbarians had reduced the six Latin cases to two, so it would be far more regular to reduce the three French declensions to one. Accordingly, the second declension, as being the most generally used, was taken as the common form, and its laws were applied to both the others. Now the characteristic of this second declension was an *s* in the subjective case of the singular—'mur*s*,' **murus**; and accordingly, in violation of the genius of the language and of the laws of Latin derivation, men took to saying 'le pastre*s*,' as they were wont to say 'le mur*s*.' And thus the laws of derivation were broken, because the Latin **pástor** has no *s* in the nominative; nor has it any need of that letter, since it is

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[1] Raynouard, who in A.D. 1811 developed the laws of French declension, gave them the general name of 'the rule of the *s*,' by reason of the *s* which so commonly marks the subject. This discovery is one of the greatest services ever rendered to the study of Old French, and to the history of the language. 'Without this key,' Littré says most truly, 'everything seemed to be an exception or a barbarism; with it there is brought to light a system, far shorter indeed than the Latin, but still neat and regular.' Much discussion has taken place as to the usefulness and exact application of this 'rule of the *s*' during the middle ages: its practical utility is doubtless restricted, and it has often been broken through; but the existence of the rule (even more than its utility) is a fact of extreme interest, as it allows us to mark the stages of transition from Latin to French, being, as it were, a halt in the passage from synthesis to analysis.

itself distinguished from the accusative **pastórem** by the position of the tonic accent. This addition of an *s* to the nominative of all such words as **pástor**, which has two forms in French (*pastre*, *pasteur*), seemed to simplify the inflexion of nouns; whereas in reality it complicated it, and has in fact destroyed the whole system of French declension. Henceforward French declension, which had previously rested on the natural laws of derivation, came to be founded on this suffix *s*, which is nothing but an arbitrary and artificial form. In its first period (ninth to twelfth century) French declension depended on etymology; in its second (twelfth to fourteenth century) it rested on mere analogy: the former is natural, the latter artificial; the former came from the ear, the latter from the eye.

Thus then, in its first epoch, French declension was, as we have just seen, natural, based on etymology and the laws of derivation; and for that very reason it was specially frail, ' since its rules were only second-hand,—in other words, it had relations with Latin forms and accentuation, without any stability or guarantee in the proper junction and knitting together of its own tongue [1].' And so French declension was destined to perish forthwith, and the unlucky reform, which consisted in combining the three declensions into one by sacrificing the rarer and more individual forms to the more general ones, failed to save it from ruin. Rejected by the speech of the populace, from the thirteenth century downwards, and constantly violated even by the learned, French declension was thoroughly ruined by the time it reached the fourteenth century. It disappeared, and the distinction between the subjective and objective cases perished: thenceforward one case alone was used for each number. And this was the objective (or accusative) case

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[1] M. Littré.

(falcónem, *faucon*) ; for it was usually longer and more consistent than the subjective (or nominative), and it also occurred more frequently in course of conversation. Thenceforward the subjective case (**falco**, Old Fr. *fauc*) vanished, and modern declension in one case was established.

This adoption of the objective case as the type and form of the Latin substantive had a curious result in the formation of the numbers. In the older declension we had—

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Subject	**murus**	*murs*	**muri**	*mur*
Object	**murum**	*mur*	**muros**	*murs*

where the objective case was in the singular *mur*, in the plural *murs*. In the fourteenth century the new declension, as we have said, limited itself to the objective case, and consequently the *s* of the older objective case in the plural *murs* (**muros**) became the general sign of the plural, while the absence of *s* from the objective singular *mur* (**murum**) made it the sign of the singular. Had, on the other hand, the subjective case been taken as the type, and the objective been abandoned, we should have had *murs* (**murus**) in the singular, and *mur* (**muri**) in the plural ; and the *s*, which now marks the plural, would in that case have distinguished the singular instead.

From the moment that the final *s* ceased to characterise the cases, and became the distinctive mark of the plural number, the French medieval system of declensions ceased to exist ; the fifteenth century utterly rejected it ; and when, in the time of Louis XI, Villon attempted to imitate in a ballad the language of the thirteenth century, the distinction had so completely gone, that he failed to observe the 'rule of *s*,' and his imitation consequently wants the distinctive mark of the middle ages. It is curious to see how the mistakes made by a writer, who in the fifteenth century tried to

write a ballad in the manner of the thirteenth, have been
detected by the greater philological skill of our own day.

Since declension in two cases was, as we have seen, the
distinctive and fundamental characteristic of Old French,
the loss of these cases at once gave to the language in use
before the fourteenth century the mark of old age, and
established between Old and Modern French a line of
demarcation far more distinct than any which exists in Italy
or Spain between the language of the thirteenth and that of
the nineteenth centuries.

There have survived, however, some important traces of
the Old French declension, which now look to us like inex-
plicable anomalies—explicable, in truth, only by a knowledge
of the history of the language. Before entering on the study
of gender let us re-state the important elements of the Old
French declensions one by one, so as to discover the traces
they have left in Modern French.

1. *Second Declension.* Here the subjective case is sup-
pressed, and the objective retained (*mur* from **murum**, *serf*
from **servum**, &c.). Still, some relics of the subjective case
are retained in the following words: **filius**, *fils*; **fundus**, *fonds*;
laqueus, *lacs* ; **legatus**, *legs*; **lilius***, *lis*; **puteus**, *puits*; **vitis**,
vis ; **coquus**, *queux* [1]. In Old French all these words had also
the objective case—**filium**, *fil*; **fundum**, *fond*; **laqueum**, *lac*;
legatum, *leg* ; **lilium**, *li* ; **puteum**, *puit*; **vitem**, *vis*; **coquum**,
queu. It is clear then that in these instances the objective
case has disappeared, while the subjective has survived [2].

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[1] *s, x, z*, regarded as orthographic signs, are equivalents in
Old French ; *voix* was written indifferently *voix, vois,* or *voiz.*
A trace of this usage remains in *nez*, **nasus** ; *lez*, **latus** ; and in
those plurals which end in *x* (*cailloux, feux, maux*), which in
Old French were written with either an *s* or an *x*.

[2] It is just the same in the case of certain proper names,
Charles, **Carolus** ; *Louis*, **Lodovicus**; *Vervins*, **Verbinus** ;
Orléans, **Aurelianus**, &c. Cp. *Port Vendres*, **Portus Veneris**.

The history of the second declension also serves to explain the peculiarity of formation of those plurals which end in *aux* :—*mal, maux ; cheval, chevaux*, &c.

In the thirteenth century the second declension was as follows :—

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
mals	malus	*mal*	mali
mal	malum	*mals*	malos

As however *l* is softened into *u* when it is followed by a consonant (as *paume*, **palma** ; *aube*, **alba**; *sauf*, **salvus**), *mals* presently became *maus*. It then stood :—

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
maus	malus	*mal*	mali
mal	malum	*maus*	malos

Then, when the fourteenth century abolished declension altogether by abandoning the subjective case and keeping only the objective, there remained only *mal* (**malum**) in the singular, and *maus* or *maux* (**malos**) in the plural. So too *chevaux, travaux*, &c., may be accounted for.

2. *Third Declension.* In this declension in Latin the accent is displaced in the oblique cases (pástor, pastórem); whence it follows, as we have seen, that the third French declension had a double form: the one *pastre* (pástor) in the subjective case; the other *pasteur* (pastórem) for the objective. In this declension, as in the second, the objective case got the mastery at the same epoch, as may be seen by looking at a few instances :—

SUBJECTIVE.		OBJECTIVE.	
ábbas	*abbe*	abbátem	*abbé*
fálco	*fauc*	falcónem	*faucon*
látro	*lerre*	latrónem	*larron*
sérpens	*serpe*	serpéntem	*serpent*
ínfans	*enfe*	infántem	*enfant*

In all these the subjective case has perished, while the objective case survives.

There are a very few instances to the contrary, in which the subjective case has been retained :—

SUBJECTIVE.		OBJECTIVE.	
sóror	*sœur*	sorórem	*seror*
píctor	*peintre*	pictórem	*painteur*
antecéssor	*ancêtre*	antecessórem	*ancesseur*
tráditor	*traître* (O. Fr. *traître*)	traditórem	*traiteur*

In many other words the two forms have survived side by side; but, instead of continuing to be the two cases of one word, they have become two different words: as—

cántor	*chantre*	cantórem	*chanteur*
sénior	*sire* (O. Fr. *sinre*)	seniórem	*seigneur* [1]

SECTION II.

GENDERS.

The French language has adopted only the masculine and feminine genders, rejecting the third Latin gender, the neuter. The student of grammar must approve of this suppression of the neuter, for the Latin tongue had utterly lost all appreciation of the reasons which had originally made this or that object neuter rather than masculine; and furthermore, the Low Latin, by confusing in many cases the masculine with the neuter, had prepared the way for this simplification of language, which was adopted in all the Romance languages. The neuter is useless except when, as

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[1] The Latin genitive left some traces in Old French. It would be needless to quote these forms, as modern French has rejected them all with the exception of *leur,* illorum, and *chandeleur,* candelarum (festa).

in the English language, it is used exclusively of whatsoever is neither male nor female.

This suppression of the neuter, which dates very far back —long indeed before the irruptions of the Barbarians,—was brought about in two ways :—

1. Neuter substantives were made masculines. Even in Plautus we find **dorsus, aevus, collus, gutturem, cubitus,** &c.: in inscriptions dating back beyond the fourth century, we have **brachius, monumentus, collegius, fatus, metallus,** &c.: in the Salic law, **animalem, retem, membrus, vestigius, precius, folius, palatius, templus, tectus, stabulus, judicius, placitus,** &c. It is useless to multiply proofs of this fact, which a rhetorician of the Empire, Curius Fortunatianus, who flourished about A. D. 450, had already observed, and has transmitted to posterity in these words, 'Romani vernacula plurima et neutra multa masculino genere potius enunciant, ut *hunc* theatrum, et *hunc* prodigium[1].'

2. Neuter substantives became feminines, the neuter plural in a (**pecora**) having by a strange error been mistaken for a singular nominative of the first declension. In texts of the fifth century we find such accusatives as **pecoras, pergamenam, vestimentas,** &c.

Let us next proceed to notice certain peculiar points which will help us to explain such anomalies as *amour, orgue, hymne, délices,* which are real grammatical irregularities.

All Latin masculines ending in órem became feminines in French: **dolórem,** *douleur* ; **errórem,** *erreur* ; **calórem,** *chaleur* ; **amórem,** *amour*. This feminine vexed the Latinists of the sixteenth century ; and, as they preferred Latin to French, they tried to turn all these words into masculines, *le douleur, le chaleur,* &c. Their attempt failed, as it deserved,

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[1] P. Meyer, *Étude sur l'histoire de la langue française,* pp. 31, 32 ; Littré, p. 106.

except in the cases of *honneur* and *labeur*, which are masculine, and of *amour*, which has both genders [1].

Hymne was originally masculine, and the feminine use of it (in speaking of church hymnology) cannot be justified, either by its etymology or by the history of the word.

Gens is properly feminine, but as the idea it expresses (of men or individuals) is masculine, it consequently has both genders.   It may be said generally that these peculiar words, which are sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine (as *automne*, *gens*, &c.), and words masculine in the singular, feminine in the plural (as *amour*, *orgue*, *délices*, &c.), are mere barbarisms and idle subtleties invented by grammarians, not a part of the historical growth of the language.

SECTION III.

NUMBERS.

French, like Latin and Aeolian Greek [2], has only two numbers, singular and plural.   Of these, the latter is distinguished from the former by the addition of the letter *s*.   And how is this?   Were we to consider Modern French by itself, without referring back to its origin, we should find it impossible to understand why it has chosen this letter to indicate the plural of nouns.   It certainly looks as if it were an arbitrary choice, and as if any other letter might have done as well; and one might be tempted to see in this choice nothing but an agreement among grammarians to establish the distinction between singular and plural in this particular way; by making, in fact, a distinction which appeals to a Frenchman's eyes and not to his ears, seeing that in most cases the *s* is mute.   But in reality there is good reason for this *s*; and if

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[1] Littré, p. 106.
[2] The Aeolian, unlike the other Greek dialects, had no dual.

we pass from Modern to Old French, we shall see what it is [1].
We shall there find, it will be remembered, a declension with
two cases:

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
murs	murus	*mur*	muri
mur	murum	*murs*	muros

We know that in the fourteenth century the subjective
case was suppressed in both numbers, and the objective
retained (*mur*, murum ; *murs*, muros).   Whence it came
that (taking *mur* as the type of the singular, and *murs* of the
plural) the letter *s* became the characteristic of the plural.
Had the language followed the contrary course, and retained
the subjective case, we should have found the *s* kept as the
characteristic of the singular [2].

Certain substantives, like **vitrum, glacies,** &c., which had
no plural in Latin, have one in French; as *verres, glaces,*
&c.   Others which had no singular in Latin also have both
numbers in French : as *menace,* **minaciae** ; *noce,* **nuptiae** ;
relique, **reliquiae** ; *gésier,* **gigeria** ; *arme,* **arma** ; *geste,* **gesta,**
&c.

Others, again, which had both numbers in Latin, have
only the plural in French : *mœurs,* **mores** ; *ancêtres,* **ante-
cessores** ; *gens,* **gens.**   As late as the seventeenth century
gens and *ancêtres* had a singular, as we see from a couplet of
Malherbe :

'Oh! combien lors aura de veuves
La gent qui porte le turban ;'

and La Fontaine has '*la gent* trotte-menue.'   *Ancêtre* was
employed as a singular throughout the middle ages, and
even by Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Chateaubriand.   The
same is true of the word *pleurs.*   Bossuet followed the seven-
teenth century usage when he wrote '*le pleur* éternel.'

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[1] Littré, ii. 357.
[2] For this characteristic *s*, see above, pp. 101, 102.

CHAPTER II.

THE ARTICLE.

There was no article in Latin; and, though Quinctilian pretended that the language lost nothing thereby [1], it is certain that this was a real deficiency, and that, in order to supply it, the Romans, for the sake of distinctness, often used the demonstrative pronoun **ille**, where the French now has *le*, *la*, *les*. There are plenty of examples: Cicero says 'Annus **ille** quo,' 'Ille alter,' 'Illa rerum domina fortuna.' Apuleius has 'Quorsum ducis asinum **illum**?' Petronius writes 'Funerata est pars **illa** corporis mei quae quondam Achilles eram'; and Jerome has 'Vae autem homini **illi** per quem,' &c.

Though not rare in classical Latin, this usage was infinitely more common in the popular Latin, especially after the reduction of the six cases to two [2]; a change which made the use of an article necessary. Popular Latin appropriated to this use the pronoun **ille**: 'Dicebat **ille** teloneus **de illo** mercado ad **illos** necuciantes [3].' The pronoun thus transformed, and also reduced to two cases, became in Old French as follows:—

SINGULAR.

	MASC.		FEM.	
Subject	ille	*li*	illa	*la*
Object	illum	*le*	illam	*la*

PLURAL.

	MASC.		FEM.	
Subject	illi	*li*	illae	*les*
Object	illos	*les*	illas	*les*

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[1] He says, 'Noster sermo articulos non desiderat' (*De Instit. Orat.* i. 4). Of all the Indo-Germanic languages, Greek and the Teutonic languages alone have an article. Latin and Slavonic have none; Sanskrit only a rudimentary one.

[2] About the fifth century. See above, p. 99.

[3] From a chartulary of the seventh century.

So they said, distinguishing carefully between the two cases :

'**Ille** caballus est fortis.'   '*Li* chevals est fort.'

'**Illum** vidi caballum.'   'J'ai vu *le* cheval.'

And consequently, when in the fourteenth century French declensions disappeared with the loss of the subjective case, the masculine article became *le*, **illum** ; *les*, **illos** ; and the feminine *la*, **illam** ; *les*, **illas**. And thus we get to the modern article [1].

Combined with the prepositions *de*, *à*, *en*, the masculine article in Old French produced :—

Singular.

1. *del* (*de le*), which became *deu* [2], and thence *du*, as now.
2. *al* (*à le*),   „   *au*, as now.
3. *enl* (*en le*), which has disappeared.

Plural.

1. *dels* (*de les*), which became *des*.
2. *als* (*à les*),   „   *aux*.
3. *ès* (*en les*), which has disappeared, with the exception of a few traces, as in *maître-ès-arts*, *docteur-ès-sciences*, *ès-mains*, *S. Pierre-ès-liens*.

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[1] The reader has doubtless noticed that the article is a remarkable exception to the rule of the continuance of the Latin accent in French.   M. G. Paris explains this difficulty thus :— ' The Latin comic writers reckon the first syllable of **ille, illa, illum**, as short ; and these words may be regarded simply as enclitics, as is shown by the compound **ellum**=**en illum**.   Had the accent been marked, the first syllable would never have been shortened or suppressed in composition.   Consequently it is not wonderful that, by a solitary exception, the French language has retained only the latter syllable of this word : **il-le**=*le* ; **il-la**=*la* ; **il-li**=*lui* ; **il-los**=*les*.'

[2] For this softening of the final *l* into *u*, see above, p. 63.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADJECTIVE.

SECTION I.

QUALIFYING ADJECTIVES.

§ 1. *Case and Number.*

The Old French adjectives followed the same rules of declension as substantives, and had at first two distinct cases :—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Subjective	bon-us = *bons*	boni = *bon.*
Objective	bonum = *bon*	bonos = *bons.*

They also followed the same course as the substantives in the fourteenth century, abandoning the subjective case. We need not therefore reproduce the remarks given above (pp. 102–105), which the student may apply for himself to the adjective.

§ 2. *Genders.*

We have laid it down as a general principle, that at the outset French Grammar was nothing but a continuation of Latin grammar ; consequently French adjectives follow the Latin ones in every way. Those adjectives which in Latin had two different terminations for the masculine and the feminine (as bonus, bona) used also to have two in French ; and those which had only one termination for these genders in Latin (as grandis) had but one in French also. Thus in the thirteenth century men said ' une *grand* femme, une âme *mortel*,' &c. In the fourteenth century, the reason of this distinction not being understood, it was supposed to be a mere irregularity, and accordingly, in defiance of

etymology, this second class of adjectives was reduced to the form of the first class, and the feminines were spelt *grande*, *cruelle*, *mortelle*, &c., so as to correspond to *bonne*, &c. A trace of this older form remains in the expressions *grand'mère*, *grand'route*, *grand'faim*, *grand'garde*, *grand'hâte*, *grand'-chère*, &c.—phrases which are relics of the older language. Vaugelas and the seventeenth-century grammarians, ignorant of the historic ground for this usage, decreed, with their usual pedantry and dulness, that this form came from the euphonic suppression of the *e*, and that the omission must be noted by an apostrophe, as is still done.

§ 3. *Adjectives which have become Substantives.*

Certain words, now substantives in French, but springing from Latin adjectives, **domesticus**, *domestique*; **singularis**, *sanglier*; **buccularium**, *bouclier*; **granatum**, *grenade*; **lineus**, *linge*; **cursorius**, *coursier*, &c., were adjectives in Old French, following their Latin origin. In Old French the phrase ran thus:—

Un serviteur domestique, i.e. a man attached to the service of the house (**domus**). In Old French (with the usual regularity of formation) it was written *domesche*, so as not to neglect the Latin accent (**domésticus**).

Similarly the Old French phrases were—*Un porc sanglier*, **porcus singuláris**, a wild pig, which is of solitary habits. *Un écu bouclier*, **scutum bucculárium**, literally an arched or bowed shield (or buckler). *Une pomme grenade*, **pomum grenátum**, i.e. a fruit filled with pips or seeds. *Un vêtement linge*[1], **vestimentum lineum**, i.e. a linen robe. *Un cheval coursier*, **equus cursorius**, i.e. a horse kept for racing only, as opposed to carriage-horses, &c.

In these expressions the epithet in course of time ejected

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[1] For the change from *lineus* to *linge*, i.e. of *-eus* to *-ge*, see p. 75.

the substantive, and took its place. Then people began
to say, 'un *domestique*,' 'un *sanglier*,' &c., just as one now
speaks of 'un *mort*,' meaning 'un homme mort,' 'un *mortel*,'
for 'un être mortel,' &c.

§ 4. *Degrees of Comparison.*

In this, as in all other parts of French declension, par-
ticles have taken the place of the inflexions -*or*, -*imus*,
which in Latin mark the degrees of comparison. Here,
as elsewhere, we may note the analytic tendencies of the
Romance tongues.

I. The Comparative is formed by the addition of the
adverbs *plus*, *moins*, *aussi*, to the positive, in both Old and
Modern French.

There is one peculiarity of the Old French which must
be noted: besides the form *plus . . . que*, it possessed, like the
Italian, the form *plus . . . de*—'il est plus grand *de* moi.'
It would do equally well to say, 'il est plus grand *de* moi,'
or 'il est plus grand *que* moi'; just as, in Italian, we have
'più grande *del* mio libro.'

A few French adjectives have kept the Latin synthetic
form; as *meilleur*, meliórem. As the accent is displaced in
the objective case (mélior, meliórem), there has arisen (as
we have seen) a declension with two cases, which are re-
solved either into a single case, or into the retention of the
two cases with different significations. The five adjectives *bon*,
mal, *grand*, *petit*, *moult*, have retained the old comparatives.

	SUBJECTIVE CASE.	OBJECTIVE CASE.
1. *Bon*	O. Fr. *mieldre*, mélior	*meilleur*, meliórem.
2. *Mal*	*pire*, péjor	O. Fr. *pejeur*, pejórem.
3. *Grand*	*maire*, májor	*majeur*, majórem.
4. *Petit*	*moindre*, mínor	*mineur*, minórem.
5. O. Fr. *Moult*, multus		*plusieurs*, plurióres*.

The forms derived from the neuter are *moins*, **minus** ; *pis*, **pejus** ; *plus*, **plus** ; *mieux*, **melius** (O. F. *miels*).

We may add **sénior** to this list: **sénior** has given us the O. Fr. subjective case *sinre*[1], and **seniórem** gives us *seigneur*.

II. The SUPERLATIVE is formed by adding *le plus*, or *très*, to the positive. In Old French '*moult* (**multum**) *beau*' was as correct as *très-beau*.

Some Latin superlatives lingered on into Old French. In the twelfth century men said, *saint-isme*, **sanctissimus** ; *alt-isme*, **altissimus**. These vanished in the fourteenth century. Those words ending in *issime*[2], &c., which are still found in French, are technical terms, not older than the sixteenth century : like all words which do not come from the popular and spontaneous period of the language, they are very ill-formed, and break the law of accent : such are *généralissime*, *révérendissime*, *illustrissime*, &c.

SECTION II.

NOUNS OF NUMBER.

§ 1. *Cardinals.*

Unus and **duo**, which are declined in Latin, passed through the same changes in Old French as did substantives

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[1] This word *sinre* has passed into *sire*, just as *prins* (Lat. **pre-hensus**) has become *pris*.

[2] Six centuries before the birth of the French language, the superlative had already been contracted, in common Latin, to **ismus** from **issimus**, showing the growing energy and influence of the Latin accent. The 'Graffiti' of Pompeii and the inscriptions of the earlier Empire give us **carismo, dulcisma, felicismus, splendidismus, pientismus, vicesma**, &c., for **carissimo, dulcissima, felicissima, splendidissimus, pientissimus, vicesima**, &c.

and adjectives of quality.   They had two cases down to the end of the thirteenth century.

Subjective	*uns* unus	*dui*	duo.
Objective	*un* unum	*deux*	duos.

The phrase then ran thus:—' *Uns* chevals et *dui* bœufs moururent' (unus caballus et duo boves): and again, 'il tua *un* cheval *et deux* bœufs' (unum caballum et duos boves).

In the fourteenth century the subjective case was lost, and here, as elsewhere, the objective remained in force.

There is nothing in particular to be said about the numbers *trois*, tres; *quatre*, quatuor; *cinq*, quinque; *six*, sex; *sept*, septem; *huit*, octo (O. Fr. *oit*[1]); *neuf*, novem; *dix*, decem.

In the words *onze*, úndecim; *douze*, duódecim; *treize*, trédecim; *quatorze*, quatuórdecim; *quinze*, quíndecim; *seize*, sédecim, the position of the tonic accent has brought about the disappearance of the word decem, which originally gave their real force to these words[2].

The words which serve to mark the decades,—*vingt*, vigínti; *trente*, trigínta; *quarante*, quadragínta; *cinquante*, quinquagínta; *soixante*, sexagínta; *septante*, septuagínta; *octante*, octogínta; *nonante*, nonagínta,—in which the Latin g has disappeared, were originally *véint*, *tréante*, *quaréante*, &c., whence came the modern contracted forms *vingt*, *trente*, *quarante*, &c.

Above one hundred, to express the *even* decades (120, 140, 160, &c.), the Old French used multiples of twenty, and wrote *six-vingt* (120), *sept-vingt* (140), &c.—meaning six times, seven times, &c. twenty; just as to this day 'eighty' (fourscore) is expressed by *quatre-vingts* (4 × 20).   Traces of

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[1] Octo=*huit*; for the change of ct into *it* see above, p. 60.
[2] See G. Paris, *Accent latin*, p. 61.

this ancient usage remain even in our day, as in the hospital
'des *Quinze-Vingts*' (15 × 20 = 300), which was founded to
support 300 blind persons; so also Bossuet and Voltaire
wrote 'il y a *six-vingts* ans.'

The Latin **ambo** (= two together) produced in Old French
the adjective *ambe*; and the phrases ran '*ambes* mains,'
'*ambes* parts,' instead of 'les deux mains,' 'les deux parts.'
The word still survives at the gaming-table, 'j'ai gagné un
ambe à la loterie'; that is to say, 'I have won a pair,' i.e. on
two figures.

§ 2.   *Ordinals.*

With the exception of *premier*, **primarius**; *second*, **secun-
dus**, which come straight from the Latin, all the French ordi-
nals are formed by the addition of the suffix *-ième*, **-ésimus**,
to the corresponding cardinals: deux-*ième*, trois-*ième*, &c.

The system adopted in Old French for the first ten
ordinals differed from that now in use. They were drawn
straight from the Latin, instead of being formed from the
French cardinals: thus it had *tiers*, **tértius**, instead of *trois-
ième*; *quint*, **quintus**, instead of *cinquième*. These ten ordinals,
prime, **primus**; *second*, **secundus**; *tiers*, **tertius**; *quart*,
quartus; *quint*, **quintus**; *sixte*, **sextus**; *setme*, **séptimus**;
oitave, **octavus**; *none*, **nonus**; *disme* or *dîme*, **décimus**, have
had interesting fortunes of their own in the history of the
French tongue, and we will proceed to trace them out in
some detail.

Prime, **primus**. This word, which has been supplanted
by its diminutive *premier*, **primárius**, survives still in the
phrases '*prime*-abord,' '*prime*-saut,' 'parer en *prime*,' &c.

Second, **secundus**, has not been suppressed by *deuxième*,
but has a concurrent existence.

Tiers, **tértius**, remains in '*tiers*-état,' '*tiers*-parti,' and
(in the feminine) in '*tierce*-personne,' 'parer en *tierce*.'

Quart, quártus, remains in 'fièvre-*quarte.*' So late as the seventeenth century, La Fontaine wrote

> ' Un *quart* voleur survint,'

where *quart* represents the modern *quatrième.*

Quint, quíntus. 'Charles-*Quint,*' for 'Charles le *cinquième*'; 'la *quinte* musicale'; and *quintessence* (quinta essentia), formerly written '*quinte*-essence,' a term of alchemy, signifying the fifth or highest degree of essence, or of distillation.

Sixt, sextus, survives in such phrases as 'la *sixte* musicale,' &c.

Setme, séptimus, has disappeared altogether, giving place to *septième.* So too *oitave,* octávus, is lost, and *huitième* fills its place. The word *octave* is modern and Italian.

None, nonus. In the middle ages the ordinals marked the hours: 'il est *prime,*' 'il est *tierce,*' 'il est *dîme,*' for one, three, ten o'clock. Traces of this way of reckoning survive in the Breviary, in which there are different prayers marked off to be recited at *prime* or at *none,* i.e. at the first or ninth hour of the day.

Dîme, décimus. 'Le *dîme* jour,' 'la *dîme* heure,' were phrases used in the twelfth century for 'le *dixième* jour,' &c. So also 'la *dîme* des récoltes,' for 'la *dixième* (partie) des récoltes.'

CHAPTER IV.

PRONOUNS.

Before beginning a detailed examination of the six classes of pronouns (i. e. the Personal, Possessive, Demonstrative, Relative, Interrogative, and Indefinite), it should be noticed that here also, as in the cases of the substantive, article, and adjective, the Old French had a declension in two cases, distinguishing subject from object, down to the close of the thirteenth century; and that here also, as elsewhere, the objective case has survived.

SECTION I.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

The Latin personal pronouns gave to Old French the following forms :—

CASE.	1st Pers.	2nd Pers.	3rd Pers.			
Sing.						
Subjective .	Ego *je*	tu *tu*	ille *il*	illa *elle.*		
Obj. direct .	Me *me*	te *te*	illum *le*	illam *la.*		
Obj. indirect	Mihi, mi *moi*[1]	tibi *toi*	illi *lui*.			
Plur.						
Subjective .	Nos *nous*	vos *vous*	illi *ils.*			
Obj. direct .	Nos *nous*	vos *vous*	illos *ils*[2]	illas *elles.*		

[1] *Moi*, mihi, mi ; *toi*, tibi ; *soi*, sibi, were *mi*, *ti*, *si* in the eleventh century. To this earlier form the suffix *en* was attached, and thus the possessives *mi-en*, *ti-en*, *si-en* were formed. Unlike Modern French, the possessive pronouns in Old French were followed by the object possessed : thus they said 'le *mien* frère,' 'la *mienne* terre,' 'un *tien* vassal,' &c. This rule ceased to be observed generally in the fourteenth century ; though some relics of it remain in the following expressions : 'un *mien* cousin,' 'le *tien* propre,' 'une *sienne* tante,' &c.

[2] **Illos** is also the parent of *eux*, which was *els* in the thirteenth century, and earlier still was *ils*.

Down to the end of the thirteenth century the declension in two cases was carefully followed : *je*, **ego** ; *tu*, **tu** ; *il*, **ille**, expressed the subject only ; *me*, **me** ; *te*, **te** ; *le*, **illum**, the direct object ; *moi*, **mihi**, **mi** ; *toi*, **tibi** ; *lui*, **illi**, the indirect object. Modern French, by a strange mistake, says, '*moi* qui lis,' '*toi* qui chantes,' '*lui* qui vient,' using the object for the subject ; Old French said correctly, '*je* qui lis,' **ego qui lego** ; '*tu* qui chantes,' **tu qui cantas** ; '*il* qui vient,' **ille qui venit**, &c. It was not till the beginning of the fourteenth century that the distinction between subject and object began to grow dim, and confusion arose : now we no longer have any forms peculiar to the subject, since in certain cases we express it by *je*, *tu*, *il*, in others by *moi*, *toi*, *lui*. There is a fragment of the ancient use in the commercial phrase, '*Je*, soussigné, déclare,' &c.

Though the formation of the personal pronouns offers no peculiar difficulties, we will say a few words about their origin and development.

1. *Je* and **ego**, which seem so far apart, are really one and the same word. *Je* is *jo* in MSS. of the thirteenth century[1]. In the tenth century it is *io*, and in the famous Oaths of A.D. 842 we find the form *eo* ; as '*eo* salvarai cest meon fradre Karlo,' **ego salvabo eccistum meum fratrem Karolum.** Here **ego** has lost its **g** and become *eo* (just as **ligo** becomes *lie* ; **nego**, *nie* ; **nigella**, *nielle* ; **gigantem**, *géant*, &c.). There are numerous examples of the change of *eo* into *io*[2] : *io* is then consonified into *jo*, as **Divionem** becomes *Dijon*, **gobionem**, *goujon*[2].

2. *En.* The Latin **inde** obtained, in common Latin, the sense of **ex illo, ab illo** ; as in Plautus, Amphitr. i. 1, we have

'Cadus erat vini ; *inde* implevi Cirneam.'

In Low Latin this use of **inde** became very common, and

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[1] In Villehardouin, for example.   [2] See above, p. 75.

examples are plentiful in MSS. of the Merovingian period:
' Si potis **inde** manducare,'='si tu peux *en* manger,' occurs
in a formula of the seventh century: ' Ut mater nostra
ecclesia Viennensis **inde** nostra haeres fiat' (in a diploma
of A.D. 543), &c. **Inde** became *int* in very early French (as
is found in the Oath of A.D. 842): in the tenth century it is
ent[1], in the twelfth *en*.

3. *Y* was in Old French *i*, originally *iv*[2], which is simply
the Latin **ibi**, a word often used in common Latin for **illi**,
illis: 'Dono **ibi** terram'; 'tradimus **ibi** terram' (in a
chartulary of A.D. 883). The change of *b* into *v* (*iv* from
ibi) is common enough; see above, pp. 58, 59.

SECTION II.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

In the Old French declension these were as follows:—

SINGULAR.

Subjective **meus**, *mis* ; **mea**, *ma*.
Objective **meum**, *mon* ; **meam**, *ma*.

PLURAL.

Subjective **mei**, *mi*; **meae**, *me*.
Objective **meos**, *mes* ; **meas**, *mes*[3].

In the fourteenth century this declension faded out (as we
have explained elsewhere), and the subjects *mis*, **meus**; *mi*,

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[1] This form *ent* is retained in the word *souv-ent*, derived from
the Latin **sub-inde**.

[2] In the Oaths of A.D. 842, ' in nulla adjudha contra Lodhuwig
nun li *iv* er '; that is to say in the Latin of the day, ' in nullam
adjutam contra Ludovicum non illi **ibi** ero.'

[3] The same formula holds good for *ton, ta, tes,* and for *son,
sa, ses*. *Leur*, which comes from **illorum**, was indeclinable,
and rightly so: in Old French men said ' *leur* terres,' **illorum
terrae**, in accordance with the laws of etymology. The form
leurs is quite modern and illogical.

mei; *me*, **meae**, disappeared, leaving only the objectives *mon*, **meum**; *ma*, **meam**; *mes*, **meos**.

By the side of this necessary and regular change a violent disturbance took place in the fourteenth century. Old French, imitating the Latin, had a distinct pronoun for each gender; *mon*, **meum**, was masculine only; *ma*, **meam**, feminine only: before such substantives as began with a vowel, *ma* became *m'*, just as *la* became *l'*; and *m'espérance* stood for *ma espérance*, like *l'espérance* for *la espérance*. *Ta* and *sa* likewise became *t'* and *s'*: *t'amie* and *s'amie*, for *ta amie* and *sa amie*. This distinction, which was clear, convenient, etymologically just, and founded on a proper acquaintance with the language, disappeared at the end of the fourteenth century. In the next century men had ceased to say *m'âme, t'espérance, s'amie*, and had begun to say, as now, *mon âme, ton espérance, son amie*, attaching, by a dreadful blunder, the masculine pronoun *mon*, **meum**, to a feminine noun. This solecism has survived to this day, and the construction of Old French has fallen into oblivion[1]. 'Thus changes come; and now our ears would be as much astonished to hear a man say *m'espérance*, as those of a man of the twelfth century would be to hear us say *mon espérance*. And we may add that he would have the logic of grammar on his side, while we have on ours nothing but the brutal sanction of custom. The more you ascend towards antiquity, the more exact and sure does the logic of grammar show itself to be: in saying this, however, I do not mean to assert that a tongue, which necessarily, as it goes, loses some of its exactness, cannot more than make up for its losses by other qualities. Nor do I mean to say

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[1] It has however survived in the expression *m'amour*: 'Allez, *m'amour*, et dites à votre notaire, qu'il expédie ce que vous savez' (Molière, *Malade imaginaire*, iii. 2). So also the term of endearment *m'amie*.

that I protest against the actual usage of the language, or that I am one of those inexorable grammarians, who want all solecisms destroyed, and the old exactitude and regularity restored in their place [1].'

SECTION III.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

The French demonstrative pronouns are three in number, *ce*, *cet*, and *celui*, which are combined with the two adverbs *ci* and *là*.

1. *Ce.* In the thirteenth century *ço* ; in the eleventh *iço* ; that is to say, the Latin **ecce-hoc.**

2. *Cet.* In Old French *cest*; farther back *cist*; in the twelfth century *icist*; that is to say, the Latin **ecciste = ecce-iste.**

3. *Celui.* In Old French *celui* is the objective case of *cel* or *cil*, which, farther back, was *icil*; that is to say, the Latin **eccille = ecce-ille.** This is all that need be said as to their etymology [2].

As to their meaning, *cist* or *cest* or *cet* answered to the Latin **hic**, and indicated the nearer object ; *cil*, *cel*, or *celui* answered to **ille**, and indicated the more distant object. Thus the pronouns in the lines (La Fontaine, *Fables*, iii. 8)

> 'Vivaient le cygne et l'oison,
> *Celui-là* destiné pour les regards du maître,
>   *Celui-ci* pour son goût,'

would have run thus in the thirteenth century :

> 'Vivaient le cygne et l'oison,
> *Icil* (or *cil*) destiné pour les regards du maître,
>   *Icest* (or *cest*) pour son goût.'

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[1] Littré, *Histoire de la langue française*, ii. 415.

[2] *Ceux* (O. Fr. *iceux*) represents **eccillos**, just as *eux* (above, p. 119, note 2) represents **illos.**

Finally, we may remark that the expression *celui-ci, celui-là,* which replaced *icist, icil,* cannot be traced back beyond the fifteenth century [1].

SECTION IV.

RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

The relative pronouns, under which head the interrogative pronouns are included, are five in number: *qui, que, quoi, dont, quel,* with their compounds *lequel, laquelle,* &c.

1. *Qui, que, quoi,* come respectively from the Latin **qui, quam, quid.**

2. *Dont* comes from the Latin **de-unde : unde** became *ont* in Old French; so 'le chemin par *ont* (= où) l'on va.' **Unde** joined to the preposition *de* became *dont,* of which the literal meaning is *d'où,* 'whence,' as in 'Il me demanda *dont* je venais.' *Dont* was still used in this sense up to the end of the eighteenth century: thus—

> 'Le mont Aventin
> *Dont* il l'aurait vu faire une horrible descente.'
> <div align="right">(Corneille, <i>Nic.</i> v. 2.)</div>

> 'Rentre dans le néant *dont* je t'ai fait sortir.'
> <div align="right">(Racine, <i>Bajaz.</i> ii. 1.)</div>

> 'Ma vie est dans les camps *dont* vous m'avez tiré.'
> <div align="right">(Voltaire, <i>Fanat.</i> ii. 1.)</div>

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[1] *Icelle* still remains in legal documents :
  'De ma cause et des faits renfermés en *icelle.*
  <div align="right">(Racine, <i>Plaideurs.</i>)</div>
The same is true of *cettui* (*ce*), which is now only used in Marotic poetry (i. e. poetry written in imitation of Marot) : '*Cettui* Richard était juge dans Pise' (La Fontaine) ; '*Cettui* pays n'est pays de Cocagne' (Voltaire). *Cettui* is the objective case of the pronoun whose nominative is *cet* (*cest* or *cist*), just as *celui* is the objective case of *cil.*

SECTION V.

The following are the chief indefinite pronouns.

1. *Aucun.* This word, written *alcun* in the thirteenth century, and *alqun* in the twelfth, is compounded of *alque* and *un*, just as *chacun* is from *chaque un*, and *quelqu'un* from *quelque un*. In Old French **aliquis** became *alque*: **aliqui venerunt**, *alque vinrent.* This *alque* answers to *quelque*, and *alqun* (*alqu'un*) to *quelqu'un*. The history and etymology of *aucun* show that the word must be essentially affirmative in sense: 'Avez-vous entendu *aucun* discours qui vous fît croire?' 'Allez au bord de la mer attendre les vaisseaux, et si vous en voyez *aucuns*, revenez me le dire'; 'Phèdre était si succinct qu'*aucuns* l'en ont blâmé [1].' *Aucun* only becomes negative when accompanied by *ne*: 'J'en attendais trois, *aucun ne* vint.' It must not be forgotten that, in itself and properly, it is affirmative, and answers to *quelqu'un*, 'some one.'

2. *Autre*, in Old French *altre*, from the Latin **alter**. We have seen (above, p. 123) that *celui* was the complement of *cil*, and *cettui* of *cet*: so also *autrui* was the complement of *autre*, answering exactly to Modern French *de l'autre*: after the rule of the Old French it had no article; people said *le cheval autrui*, or rather *l'autrui cheval*, **alterius equus**, where they now say 'le cheval d'un autre.'

3. *Chaque.* The successive forms of this word are, in the thirteenth century, *chasque*, and earlier *chesque*, which is in fact the Latin **quisque**, *quesque, chesque.* By the addition of the word *un*, we get the compound *chasqu'un*, which as

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[1] La Fontaine, *Fables*, vi. 1.

early as the fourteenth century was written *chacun*, and represents the Latin **quisque-unus.**

4. *Maint*, which means 'numerous,' comes from the German *manch*[1], with the same sense.

5. *Méme.* The history of this word is a very curious example of the contraction undergone by Latin in its passage into French. *Méme* in the sixteenth century was written *mesme*, in the thirteenth *meesme* and *meïsme*, and originally *medisme.* Now *medisme* is from the common Latin **metipsimus** *, which is used by Petronius, and this we know is a contraction of the superlative **metipsissimus**, which is found in classical Latin under the form of **ipsissimusmet**, meaning 'altogether the same.' Under the head of superlatives (p. 115), we have seen how the suffix -**issĭmus** became -**ismus** in common Latin, and provided the Old French with the superlative termination -*isme.*

6. *Nul*, from the Latin **nullus**, had for its accusative *nullui*, just as *cel, cet, autre,* had their objectives *celui, cettui, autrui.*

7. *On*, in the twelfth century *om*, earlier *hom*, is simply **homo**, and means properly 'a man.' ' *On* lui amène son destrier,' i.e. 'A man brings him his war-horse.'

At first the two senses (*homme* and *on*) were not distinguished, and *om* stood for both. In the sense of **homo** the phrase ran, 'li *om* que je vis hier est mort,' and in the sense of **dicitur**, ' li *om* dit que nous devons tous mourir.' In Modern French the first example would run, ' *l'homme* que je vis,' &c.; the second would be ' *l'on* dit,' &c.

Thus, as we see, *on* was originally a substantive ; whence it follows that it does not at all go out of the way in taking the article, as in *l'on.*

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[1] The old forms of this word are the Gothic *manags*, and the Old High German *manac.*

8. *Plusieurs*, side by side with which the form *plurieurs* used to exist, comes from the Latin **pluriores** *.

9. *Quant.* The Latin **quantus, quanta**, gave the Old French pronoun *quant, quante*. The feminine form has fallen out of use in Modern French, except in the phrase ' toutes et *quantes* fois.'

10. *Quelque*, from **qualisquam.**

11. *Quiconque*, from **quicumque.**

12. *Quelconque*, from **qualiscumque.**

In the middle ages the expression *quelque . . . que* was unknown, and instead of it *quel . . . que* was used (with better reason): 'À *quelle* heure *que* je vienne, je ne puis vous rencontrer,' which would now be ' *à quelque* heure *que* je vienne,' &c. The older phrase is correct, the modern a barbarous pleonasm.

13. *Tel* comes from **talis.**

14. *Tout*, O. Fr. *tot*, from **totus.**

15. *Un.* In classical Latin the noun of number **unus** was used pleonastically to express 'a' or 'a certain'; so Plautus says, ' **Una** aderit mulier lepida '; ' **Unum** vidi mortuum efferri'; and, 'Forte **unam** adspicio adolescentulam.' In all these cases **unus** bears the sense of **quidam**; and this is also the proper sense of the French *un*.

16, 17. For *personne* and *rien* see below, pp. 173, 174.

PART II.

CONJUGATION OF VERBS.

'The Romance languages have perhaps handled conjugation more freely than any other part of grammar; they have remodelled it most completely. Voices have been lost, moods and tenses have disappeared, and others, which the mother tongue would not have recognised, have been created in their room ; the conjugations have been thrown together and classified again upon new principles; and, in fact, the old fabric has been completely pulled down and a new structure built up out of its *débris*[1].'

The changes of the Latin conjugation, in voice, mood, tense, and person, will be studied in detail in subsequent chapters: at present we will simply take a summary view of all these transformations.

I. Voice. To say nothing of the creation of auxiliary verbs, the most serious change has been the loss of the passive voice. The Latin passive has been suppressed, and in its room we have in French a combination of the verb *être* with the past participle. This transformation however had already taken place in the common Latin ; MSS. of the sixth century are full of such expressions as the following:—'Ut ibi luminaria debeant *esse procurata*' (for *procurari*) ; 'Hoc

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[1] G. Paris, *Accent latin*, p. 63.

volo *esse donatum*' (for *donari*); 'Quod ei nostra largitate *est concessum*' (for *conceditur*). These examples are taken at random from Merovingian chartularies and diplomas.

The deponent verbs, as they passed into the French language, assumed an active form; or rather, to speak more correctly, had already lost the deponent form in common Latin, and indeed even in the Latin comic writers, who, as is well known, used many of the forms current in the language of the people. In Plautus we find, for example, **arbitrare, moderare, munerare, partire, venerare,** &c., in place of **arbitrari, moderari, munerari, partiri, venerari,** &c. And in the Atellan fragments we have **complectite, frustrarent, irascere** (= irasci), **mirabis, ominas,** &c.

This is the reason why we get such forms as *suivent, naissent,* &c., which come from **séquunt, náscunt,** &c., and not *suivónt, naissónt,* which would have been the natural derivatives of **sequúntur, nascúntur.**

II. Moods. The supine and gerundive are gone, and a new mood, the conditional, has been created.

III. Tenses. In these there have been two modifications—

1. The past tenses (except in the cases of the imperfect and perfect indicative, *aimais,* **amabam**; *aimai,* **amavi**) cease to be indicated by terminations (as **am-avi, am-averam**), and are made up of the past participle with the auxiliary *avoir* (*j'ai aimé,* **habeo amatum**).

2. The future is also formed by the help of the auxiliary *avoir.* The French future does not come from the corresponding Latin tense (**am-abo**), but is formed by suffixes *-ai, -as, -a,* &c., attached to the infinitive of the verb: *aimer-ai, aimer-as, aimer-a,* &c. Now, we know that the Latins often expressed the desire of doing something in the future by the use of **habeo** joined with the infinitive of the verb. Even in Cicero we have 'habeo dicere'; 'ad familiares habeo polliceri'; 'habeo convenire'; 'habeo ad te scribere.'

St. Augustine writes, 'venire habet' ('he has to come'=
he will come).   This form of the future ran side by side
with the ordinary form in the writers of imperial days, and
ended by supplanting it.   From the sixth century down-
wards the forms 'partire habeo,' 'amare habeo,' 'venire
habet in silvam,' became common, while the regular futures,
amabo, partiar, veniet, were almost forgotten.   The Ro-
mance (or neo-Latin) languages, as they detached them-
selves from the mother-tongue, carried with them this new
form of the future tense; and the inverted order of the
words being kept, amare habeo became at last *aimer-ai*[1].
At first the two elements were separable, and in certain neo-
Latin languages, as the Provençal, their combination was not
necessary; and so in Provençal *je vous dirai* is either '*vos
dir-ai*,' or '*dir vos ai.*'   In the French the two elements were
early connected together, then became inseparable, and be-
fore long it was forgotten that they had ever had each its
independent existence.

Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, a scholar of the last century,
was the first to detect and remark on this formation of the
future; and his discovery was confirmed by the later labours
of Raynouard and Diez.

The French conjugations are enriched by the addition of
the conditional, a mood not known to the Latins.   While
the Latin confounds *j'aimasse* and *j'aimerais* under the one
form amarem, the French separates the shades of meaning
thus indicated, and gives to each its proper form.   By what
process has this result been reached?   It was felt that some
form was needed by which to indicate the future looked at
from the point of view of the past, just as the future tense

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[1] Similarly, in Italian the Latin habeo becoming *ho*, the future
cantare habeo became *canter-ó*; in Spanish habeo=*hè*, and
the future is *cantar-é*; in Portuguese habeo=*hey*, and the
future becomes *canter-ey*.

indicates a future looked at from the present; and to express this shade of meaning the French language has created the conditional mood, which is compounded of an infinitive (*aimer*), which indicates the future, and of a termination which indicates the past[1]; and hence *aimer-ais, aimer-ais, aimer-ait,* &c.

In one word, the conditional has been built on the lines of the future; the future being formed of the infinitive and the present (*aimer-ai,* &c.), the conditional of the infinitive and the imperfect (*aimer-ais,* &c.).

IV. PERSONS. Both in French and in Latin the letter *s* is characteristic of the 2nd person singular, as **amas**, *aimes,* **amabas**, *aimais,* &c. The 1st person singular never had an *s* in Latin—**amo, credo, video, teneo**; consequently it became in Old French *j'aime, je croi, je voi, je tien.* In the fourteenth century, however, came in the senseless habit (senseless because not based on etymology) of adding *s* to the 1st person singular, and of saying *je vien-s, je tien-s, je voi-s.* Corneille, Molière, La Fontaine, and Racine still used the correct form, *je croi, je voi, je tien*; and as late as the eighteenth century, Voltaire writes

> 'La mort a respecté ces jours que je te *doi*.'
> (*Alzire,* ii. 2.)

But these forms, of which the historical origin was forgotten, were not accepted, being regarded as nothing but poetical licences.

The letter *t* is the characteristic of the 3rd person singular in the Latin conjugation; **ama-t, vide-t, legi-t, audi-t**; and this survived in Old French *il aime-t, il voi-t, il li-t, il ouï-t,* &c. This etymological *t* disappeared from the first conjugation, and was retained in the others, *il li-t, il voi-t,* &c. It is a real grammatical mistake and misfortune that the language has thus come to neglect the primordial characteristics

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[1] **-ais, -ais, -ait, -ions, -iez, -aient,** represent the Latin **-abam, -abas, -abat,** &c.

of the persons,—symbols handed down to us by tradition
from the highest antiquity. How clearly does the gram-
matical regularity of the old tongue declare itself, when we
compare it with the irregularities which disfigure modern
grammar !¹

V. Having thus noted the great differences which separate
French from Latin conjugation, we cannot well begin the
study of verbal inflexions in French without saying a few
words as to the part played by the Latin accent in French
conjugation.

If regarded from the point of tonic accent, all Latin verbs
may be divided into two great classes, *strong* and *weak*, ac-
cording as the accent rests on the root (**créscĕre**) or on the
termination (**amáre**): thus, the Latin **créscere, dícitis, ténui**
(*croître, dîtes, tins*, in French), are *strong* verbs, accented on
their root ; while **dormíre, debétis, amávi** (*dormis, devez, aimai*,
in French) are *weak*, with the accent on their terminations.

This division into weak and strong verbs, or rather into
weak and strong forms, for properly speaking there are no
completely strong verbs (i. e. verbs which accentuate the
root throughout in all tenses and persons), throws a clear
light on the study of French conjugation, as we shall see in
the next chapter.

The true natural classification of French verbs should
consist in their being divided into strong and weak ; that is
to say, they should be classified according to their *form*² :
rather however than run any risk of confusing the student,
we will adopt that artificial classification of verbs according
to their *functions*, which is to be found in the grammars,
and will divide them into Auxiliary, Active, Passive, Im-
personal, &c.

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¹ Littré, *Histoire de la langue française*, i. 17.
² Even this would not be a perfect division, seeing there are
no verbs which are completely strong.

CHAPTER I.

AUXILIARY VERBS.

The most important difference between Latin and French conjugation lies in this,—that while several past tenses of the active and the passive are expressed in Latin by terminations (am-averam, am-or), in French they are expressed by the participle of the verb, preceded by *avoir* for the active and by *être* for the passive (as *j'ai aimé, je suis aimé*).

This introduction of auxiliary verbs in conjugation, which seems at first sight foreign to the genius of the Latin language, was not an isolated fact, or an innovation without precedents; in germ it existed in the best ages of the Roman tongue: Cicero said, 'De Caesare satis dictum habeo' (= dixi) ; 'habebas scriptum . . nomen' (= scripseras); 'quae habes instituta perpolies' (= instituisti). And again in Caesar, 'Vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habet' (= redemit); 'copias quas habebat paratas' (= paraverat). Thus in the time of Augustus there sprang up by the side of the synthetic forms[1] dixi, scripseras, paraverat, &c., the analytic forms, habeo dictum, habebas scriptum, habebat paratum : and after a time this latter form became usual in both common Latin and the six Romance languages; for the analytic form spread with the development of the analytic tendencies of the language, and from the sixth century downwards Latin MSS. provide plentiful examples of it. The same is the case with the inflexions of the passive voice : the common Latin substituted for them the verb sum joined with the past participle of the verb (sum amatus = amor). In

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[1] For the difference between *synthetic* and *analytic* forms, see Egger, *Grammaire comparée*, p. 91.

the collections of Merovingian diplomas we constantly meet these new forms: 'Omnia quae ibi **sunt aspecta**' (= **aspectantur**); 'Sicut a nobis praesente tempore **est possessum**' (= **possidetur**); 'Hoc volo **esse donatum**' (= **donari**); 'Quod ei nostra largitate **est concessum**' (= **conceditur**), &c.

Just as in the declensions the new languages had abandoned the terminations of the cases, and had substituted prepositions in their room (as in *du cheval* for **caball-i**), so in the conjugations they abandoned the synthetic forms of the compound tenses, and replaced them by auxiliary verbs —a natural result of that necessity which forced the Latin language to pass from the synthetic into the analytic state.

SECTION I.

Être.

The Latin verb **esse** was defective, and borrowed six tenses (**fui, fueram, fuero, fuerim, fuissem, forem**) from **fore** and the unused **fuere**. In French the verb *être* is composed of three different verbs: (1) **Fuo**, whence the preterite *fus* (**fui**), and the subjunctive *fusse* (**fuissem**); (2) **Stare**, which gives the past participle *été* (O. Fr. *esté*) from **status**; (3) **Esse**, which gives all the other tenses.

I. PRESENT INFINITIVE: *être* (O. Fr. *estre*).

To such defective verbs as **velle, posse, offerre, inferre, esse**, which were too short to carry the usual Roman infinitive, common Latin subjoined the termination **-re**, and so produced a false resemblance to verbs of the second conjugation. Thus, from the sixth century downwards, Merovingian MSS. give us **volere** (for **velle**), **potere** (for **posse**), **offerrere** (for **offerre**), **inferrere** (for **inferre**), **essere** (for **esse**).

Essere having its accent on the first syllable (**éssere**)

became *ess're*, or *estre*, which is in fact the older form of the French infinitive. This etymology is confirmed by the form taken by the same infinitive in the other Romance languages; in Italian *essere*, in Spanish and Portuguese *ser*, and in Provençal *esser*. And if any one doubts whether the form **essere** ever did exist, we may easily reply by quoting actual cases.

Thus, in Gruter's collection of Roman inscriptions (No. 1062, 1) may be read this epitaph found in Rome in a church of the seventh century : 'Cod estis fui et cod sum **essere abetis**,' i.e. 'quod estis, fui, et quod sum **esse habetis**' (= eritis). In a series of Carolingian diplomas [1], dated A.D. 820, are these words : 'quod **essere** debuissent'; in the year 821, '**essere** de beneficio'; in A.D. 836, 'quod de ista ecclesia Vulfaldo episcopus **essere** debuisset.' And the same elongation by addition of -re applied to the compounds of **esse** (as **adesse**, &c.) is also to be found; as in a chartulary of A.D. 818, 'quam ingenuus **adessere**[2].'

II. PRESENT PARTICIPLE: *étant*. This is formed from *être* regularly, like *mettant* from *mettre*.

III. PAST PARTICIPLE: *été* (O. Fr. *esté*), from the Latin **status**.

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[1] Bérard, *Recueil de pièces relatives à l'histoire de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1664), pp. 34, 36.

[2] Perhaps it may be thought that I have insisted too much, and with too many illustrations, on the proof that *être* and **essere** are the same word. I have done so because I wished definitely to refute a widespread and often-repeated error—namely, that *être* comes from the Latin verb **stare**. How could **stáre**, with the accent on the first syllable, have produced *être*? And again, how would **stare** go with the Provençal *esser*, the Italian *essere*, the Spanish and Portuguese *ser*? And, lastly, we know with certainty that **stare** has become the French *ester*, and could not have produced anything else. So we have the phrase '*ester* en justice,'=**stare in justitia**. *Ester* has also survived in a few compounds, like *rester*, **re-stare**; *arrêter* (O. Fr. *arrester*), **ad-re-stare**.

IV. PRESENT INDICATIVE. This comes from the corresponding Latin tense.

Suis, sum (in Old French the form was *sui,* the more correct, as there is no final *s* in the Latin); *es,* es; *est,* est; *sommes,* sumus; *êtes* (O. Fr. *estes*), estis; *sont,* sunt.

V. IMPERFECT. *Étais* does not come from the Latin, having been formed straight from *être,* as *mettais* from *mettre*[1]. Side by side with this imperfect of French origin, the Old French had another drawn straight from the Latin: *j'ère,* eram; *tu ères,* eras; *il ert,* erat, &c. This form perished in the fourteenth century.

VI. PERFECT (or definite past). From the corresponding Latin tense.

Fus (O. Fr. *fui*), fui; *fus* (O. Fr. *fuis*), fuisti; *fut,* fuit; *fûmes,* fuimus (the circumflex on this word is an error of the sixteenth century, and offends against etymological propriety); *fûtes* (O. Fr. *fustes*), fuistis; *furent,* fuerunt.

VII. FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL. *Serai* (O. Fr. *esserai*). The French future is, as has been said, a compound of the infinitive of the verb and the auxiliary *avoir* (*aimerai* = amare habeo); and thus *esserai* represents essere-habeo. The same is true of the conditional *serais* (O. Fr., twelfth century, *esserais*). For the formation of the conditional, see above, p. 130.

VIII. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE. From the corresponding Latin tense.

Sois (O. Fr. *soi*), sim; *sois,* sis; *soit,* sit; *soient,* sint. The forms *soyons, soyez,* come from siámus*, siátis*, not from simus, sitis (whose resultants could only have been *soins, soiz*)[2].

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[1] M. Littré (*Histoire de la langue française,* ii. 201), and after him G. Paris (*Accent latin,* pp. 79, 132), have shown that *étais* or *estois* could not possibly come from stabam. It is surely a typographical error when M. Littré, in his *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* (s. v. *Être*), says '*étais* vient de stabam.'

[2] See the rule for the continuance of the Latin accent, above, p. 44.

IX. Imperfect Subjunctive. From the Latin pluperfect subjunctive.

Fusse, fuissem ; *fusses*, fuisses ; *fût* (O. Fr. *fuist*), fuisset ; *fussions*, fuissemus ; *fussiez*, fuissetis ; *fussent*, fuissent.

X. Imperative. This tense is composed entirely of forms borrowed from the subjunctive (*sois, qu'il soit, soyons, soyez, qu'ils soient*). These have been already discussed (see above, VIII).

SECTION II.

Avoir.

General Remarks. The initial h of the Latin habere, *avoir*, has vanished from the French conjugation, like the h of hordeum, *orge*; homo, *on* [1]; hora, *or*, &c.

The Latin b has become *v*; habere = *avoir*, habebam = *avais*, just as we have probare, *prouver* ; cubare, *couver* ; faba, *fève*; caballus, *cheval*, &c. [2]

I. Present Infinitive. *Avoir* (O. Fr. *aver*), habére.

II. Present Participle. *Ayant*, for the Latin habéntem, (or habéndo). The medial b disappears in French, as in viburnum, *viorne*; tabanus, *taon*, &c. [3]

III. Past Participle. *Eu* (O. Fr. *eü, aü,* or *aüt*); in the eleventh century *avut*, from the Latin habitum. The old form *avut* shows that, at the beginning, the French language retained a trace of the Latin b.

IV. Present Indicative. From the corresponding Latin tense.

Ai, hábeo ; *as*, hábes ; *a* (O. Fr. *at*), hábet—the *t* of the Old French being etymological; *avons* (O. Fr. *avomes*), habé-mus ; *avez*, habetis ; *ont*, hábent.

V. Imperfect. From the corresponding Latin tense.

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[1] See above, p. 126.　　　　[2] See above, p. 70.
[3] See above, p. 91.

Avais (O. Fr. *avoi* or *aveie*), habébam (the Old French, always more correct, and true to etymology, had no *s* in the 1st person sing.); *avais,* habébas; *avait,* habébat; *avions* (O. Fr. *aviomes*), habebámus; *aviez,* habebátis; *avaient,* habébant.

VI. PERFECT (or Preterite). From the corresponding Latin tense.

Eus (O. Fr. *eu*), hábui; *eus,* habuisti; *eut,* habuit; *eûmes,* habuimus; *eûtes* (O. Fr. *eüstes*), habuistis; *eurent,* habuerunt.

VII. FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL.

Aurai (O. Fr. *avrai,* twelfth century *averai*), which · is composed of the old infinitive *aver* and the auxiliary *ai,* is the reproduction of habere-habeo; and is another instance in confirmation of Raynouard's theory as to the formation of the future tense [1]. This tense shows us the great advantage of citing the Old French forms, which lie between Latin and Modern French. They illustrate the transition, and show how the passage from the one language to the other has been effected.

The conditional *aurais* (O. Fr. *avrais*) is found in the oldest texts as *averais.* For the formation of the conditional *aver-ais,* see pp. 130, 131.

VIII. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE. From the corresponding Latin tense.

Aie, habeam; *aies,* habeas; *ait,* habeat; *ayons* (O. Fr. *aiomes*), habeamus; *ayez,* habeatis; *aient,* hábeant.

IX. IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE. From the Latin pluperfect.

Eusse, habuissem; *eusses,* habuisses; *eût* (O. Fr. *eust, aüst*), habuisset; *eussions,* habuissemus; *eussiez,* habuissetis; *eussent,* habuissent.

Remark.—We have seen (under III) that the past par-

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[1] See above, pp. 129, 130.

ticiple *eu* was originally the dissyllabic *eü*, in accordance with its etymology. The same is true of the French imperfect. The medial b having disappeared, habuissem became *aüsse*, which in the twelfth century became *eüsse*. And the *eü* of *eüssions, eüssiez, eüssent*, &c., was both pronounced and counted in versification as two syllables.

X. Imperative. The imperative (*aie, ayons, ayez*) is composed of forms belonging to the subjunctive. (See above, VIII.)

CHAPTER II.

CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS. CONJUGATIONS.

The French verbs, which are 4060 in number [1], are arranged under four conjugations, according to the termination of the infinitive. The first, ending in *-er*, is the largest, embracing 3620 verbs. The second, ending in *-ir*, has 350 verbs. The third, which ends in *-oir*, counts only 30, and the fourth, in *-re*, has 60. Thus nearly nine-tenths of the French verbs belong to the first conjugation.

I. First Conjugation (*-er*).

The conjugation ending in *-er* answers to the Latin first conjugation in -are. As we have seen elsewhere [2], ā becomes *e* in French, as nasus, *nez*; mortális, *mortel*; whence -āre = *-er*, portáre, *porter*.

At first this conjugation embraced only the Latin verbs ending in -are, and consequently has the weak infinitive, amáre, *aimer*. As time went on, learned writers introduced

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[1] I base this calculation on the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*, ed. 1835.
[2] See above, p. 77.

into this conjugation verbs derived from Latin verbs in **-ere**, which have no true connection with the French conjugation in *-er*; and in this way they marred the historical propriety of the classification.

These verbs, introduced into the French language from the fourteenth century and onwards, are of two kinds:—

1. Those from Latin verbs which have the *weak* infinitive -ēre, as **persuadére, exercére, absorbére, reverére**; these ought to have found their place in the French third conjugation, under the forms *persuadoir, exerçoir, absorboir, révéroir,* &c., just as **habére, debére,** make *avoir, devoir.* Instead of this, which would have been the regular formation, we have the ill-formed verbs *persuader, exercer, absorber, révérer,* &c.

2. Those from Latin verbs having the *strong* infinitive ĕre, as **affligere, imprímere, téxere.** These words answer properly to the French fourth conjugation in *-re* (**véndere,** *vendre*), and ought in French to be *afflire, empreindre, tistre*[1], not *affliger, imprimer, tisser;* just as **péndere, véndere, téndere,** have produced *pendre, vendre, tendre,* not *pender, vender, tender.*

Only one verb in **-ire** has been introduced into this conjugation, namely *tousser,* **tussire;** and even this is of modern use, for the Old French form was the correct one, *tussir. Mouiller* and *chatouiller,* which one might be tempted to put under this head, are not cases in point, as they come from the common Latin forms **molliare*, catulliare*,** not from **mollire, catullire.**

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[1] These verbs are not mere inventions; they are to be found in the twelfth-century texts, instead of *affliger, imprimer, tisser.* In fact the Dictionary of the French Academy still retains *empreindre* and *tistre.*

II. Second Conjugation (*-ir*).

The French conjugation in *-ir* answers to the Latin fourth conjugation ending in -īre. It embraces words derived from Latin verbs in -ire, as finire, *finir*; in -ēre, as florére, *fleurir*; and in -ĕre, as colligére, *cueillir*.

There are 350 verbs in this conjugation, which may be subdivided under two very distinct heads :—

1. Those which follow the Latin conjugation in all their tenses and persons : as, e. g. *venir*, venire ; of which the present is *viens*, venio ; imperfect, *venais*, veniebam ; and so on, each French part coming directly from the corresponding Latin inflexion.

2. Those which add *-is* to the root instead of simply following the Latin forms: as *fleurir*, florire, which has in the present *fleur-is*, floreo, imperfect *fleur-iss-ais*, florebam ; and not *fleur*, *fleurais*, which would have been the natural forms, like *viens*, *venais*, from venio, veniebam. The question arises, What is the origin of these strange forms? by what procedure has the French language produced them? The answer is this : The Latins had such verbs as durescere, florescere, implescere, gemiscere, which marked a gradual growth (or augmentation) of the action expressed by the simple verb. (So durescere means to grow *more and more* hard.) These Priscian calls, for this reason, 'inchoative verbs.' Their characteristic syllable is esc, which in French became *is* : thus flor-esc-o became *fleur-is* ; flor-esc-ebam, *fleur-iss-ais*, &c. The French language seized on this syllable, and used it in the case of those Latin verbs which, when transmuted into French, would have produced forms too short and abrupt. But while it adopted this inchoative form in *iss* for the (1) indicative present, *empl-is*, impl-esc-o ; (2) the imperfect, *impl-iss-ais*, impl-esc-ebam ; (3) the present participle, *empl-iss-ant*

impl-esc-entem; (4) the subjunctive, *empl-iss-e*, **impl-esc-am**; and (5) the imperative, *empl-is*, **impl-esc-e**, it refused it for (1) the infinitive (*emplir* comes from **implere**; for **impliscere** would have produced, not *emplir*, but *emplétre*, like *paître* from **pascere**); and consequently (2) the future and (3) the conditional, formed as we have seen (p. **131**) from the infinitive of the verb and the auxiliary *avoir* (*emplir-ai*, *emplir-aïs*), have also rejected the inchoative form. So too have (4) the perfect indicative and (5) the perfect subjunctive, which come direct from the Latin.

Thus then, to sum it up, these second-conjugation verbs are in two classes: I. A small class of verbs which we may call *non-inchoative* (as *partir*, *venir*, &c.), which follow faithfully, and reproduce exactly, the Latin verb in all their tenses; and II. The *inchoatives*, true irregular verbs, with five inchoative and five non-inchoative tenses, as we have just seen. At first sight one would say that the first class ought to be taken as the types of the French second conjugation, and the inchoatives classed among the irregular verbs. The grammarians have followed the opposite course: the *non-inchoative* class are banished among the irregulars, and it is decided that the *inchoatives* are to furnish the typical form of the second conjugation and of its regularity. At any rate numbers are on their side. There are but **22** *non-inchoatives*, to set against **329** *inchoatives* [1].

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[1] The following are the non-inchoatives :—*bouillir, courir, couvrir, cueillir, dormir, faillir, fuir, mentir, mourir, offrir, ouvrir, partir, guérir, repentir, sentir, sortir, souffrir, tenir, tressaillir, venir, vêtir.* Several verbs, which are at the present day solely inchoative, had in Old French simple forms which they have since lost. Thus we find in Old French *ils emplent,* **implent,** instead of *ils emplissent,* **implescunt ;** *ils gément,* **gemunt,** instead of *ils gém-iss-ent,* **gemescunt ;** *gémant,* **gementem,** instead of *gém-iss-ant,* **gemescentem,** &c.

III. Third Conjugation (*-oir*).

The French conjugation ending in *-oir* corresponds to the second Latin conjugation, which ended in -ēre; as habēre, *avoir*; debēre, *devoir*. This conjugation embraces only thirty French verbs; and this number may be reduced to seventeen, as the remaining thirteen are compounds.

Beside these *weak* infinitives in -ēre, certain *strong* infinitives in -ĕre have contributed to this conjugation: as recipĕre, *recevoir* ; sapĕre, *savoir* ; fallĕre, *falloir* ; concipĕre, *concevoir*, &c.

IV. Fourth Conjugation (*-re*).

This conjugation, answering to the Latin *strong* (third) conjugation in -ĕre, includes sixty verbs. It ought properly to embrace only such as are derived from *strong* Latin verbs (as légĕre, *lire*; deféndĕre, *défendre*); but through a misplacement of the accent it has come to include a number of *weak* verbs, as ridēre, respondēre, tondēre, mordēre, placēre, tacēre, whose French resultants ought properly to have been *ridoir, répondoir, tondoir*, &c. The accent however in these words being wrongly thrown back on the root-syllable (rídere, &c.), the resultant French verbs, following the error, have become *rire, répondre, tondre, mordre, plaire, taire*, &c.

Before beginning the study of these conjugations it will be well to point out that the conjugation in *-oir* differs from that in *-re* only in the form of the infinitive :—

> *-oir*: *recev-oir, recev-ant, reç-u, reç-ois, reç-us.*
> *-re*: *croi-re, croy-ant, cr-u, cr-ois, cr-us.*

Such differences as these two conjugations may happen to present arise from modifications of the *root*, not from

changes in *inflexion.* It is, therefore, perfectly fair to form one conjugation out of these two; and to say that the French language has three conjugations (1) in *-er*, (2) in *-ir*, (3) in *-oir* or in *-re*.

We propose to study the conjugations in detail under these three heads, and in the order here given.

CHAPTER III.

FORMATION OF TENSES.

The table of terminations which immediately follows is intended to make the formation of the three conjugations in (1) *-er*, (2) *-ir*, (3) *-oir* and *-re*, clearer to the eye, and to set side by side all the tenses and persons of each mood.

Opposite each Latin form is placed the corresponding French form, and (when necessary to mark the transition) the Old French form is put between the two, in common type and between brackets. Thus, when we read under the 1st plural present indicative, '**ámus,** [-omes], *-ons,*' it means that the Latin **-ámus** becomes in Old French -omes, and thence *-ons* in Modern French. Such Latin terminations as are unaccented in this table become mute in French.

TABLE OF FORMATION

OF THE

THREE FRENCH CONJUGATIONS.

FIRST CONJUGATION.		SECOND CONJUGATION.				THIRD CONJUGATION.	
		1. Non-inchoative.		2. Inchoative.			
Latin.	French.	Latin.	French.	Latin.	French.	Latin.	French.
			PRESENT INDICATIVE.				
-o	-e	-io	-s	-ísco-o, -ésco-o	-is	-eo (as im-	-s
-as	-es	-is	-s		-is	-es [pleo]	-s
-at	(-et), -e	-it	-t		-it	-et	-t
-ámus	{(-omes), -ons}	-imus	-ons		-issons	-émus	-ons
-átis	-ez	-itis	-ez		-issez	-étis	-ez
-ant	-ent	-iunt	-ent		-issent	-ent	-ent
			IMPERFECT INDICATIVE.				
-ébam	(-éve, -oie),	-iébam	(-oie), -ais	-isc-ébam	-iss-ais	-ébam	(-ois), -ais
-ébas	-ais [-ais]	-iébas	-ais		-iss-ais	-ébas	-ais
-ébat	-ait	-iébat	-ait		-iss-ait	-ébat	-ait
-ebámus	-ions	-iebámus	-ions		-iss-ions	-ebámus	-ions
-ebátis	-iez	-iebátis	-iez		-iss-iez	-ebátis	-iez
-ébant	-aient	-iébant	-aient		-iss-aient	-ébant	-aient

PERFECT INDICATIVE.

-avi	*-ai*	-ivi	*(-i), -is*	-evi	*(-i), -is*
-avisti	*-as*	-ivisti	*-is*	-evisti	*-is*
-avit	*(-at), -a*	-ivit	*-it*	-evit	*-it*
-avimus	*-âmes*	-ivimus	*-îmes*	-evimus	*-îmes*
-avistis	*(-astes), -âtes*	-ivistis	*-îtes*	-evistis	*-îtes*
-averunt	*-èrent*	-iverunt	*-irent*	-everunt	*-irent*

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

-em	*-e*	-iam	-iso-am	-e	-eam
-es	*-es*	-ias		-es	-eas
-et	*(-et), -e*	-iat		-es	-eat
-emus	*-ions*	-iamus		-et	-eamus
-etis	*-iez*	-iatis		-iez	-eatis
-ent	*-ent*	-iant		-ent	-eant

IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

-avissem	*(-aisse), -asse*	-ivissem	*-isse*	-evissem	*-isse*
-avisses	*-asses*	-ivisses	*-isses*	-evisses	*-isses*
-avisset	*(-aist), -ât*	-ivisset	*(-ist), -ît*	-evisset	*-ît*
-avissémus	*-assions*	-ivissémus	*-issions*	-evissémus	*-issions*
-avissétis	*-assiez*	-ivissétis	*-issiez*	-evissétis	*-issiez*
-avissent	*-assent*	-ivissent	*-issent*	-evissent	*-issent*

IMPERATIVE.

-a	*-e*	-i	*-s*	=esc-e, -isc-e	*-is*	-e	*-e*
						-e	*-es*

INFINITIVE.

-are	*-er*	-ire	*-ir*			-ere	*-re (-oir)*

PARTICIPLE.

-antem	*-ant*	-iéntem	*-ant*	-iso-entem	*-iss-ant*	-entem	*-ant*
-atus	*(-et), -é*	-ius	*(-it), -i*			-etus, -utus	*(-uit, -ut), -u*

Remarks on the Table.

I. Present Indicative.

In the second and third conjugations the *s* has been wrongly added to the 1st person sing., as *par-s, rend-s*. This letter (which violates the rules of etymology) did not exist in Old French, whose forms were *je voi, je rend*; the *s* being properly reserved to mark the 2nd person sing., *tu rend-s*, reddis; *tu voi-s*, vid-es. For the origin of this *s*, see above, p. 131.

The *t* which marks the 3rd person sing., ama-t, vide-t, legi-t, audi-t, survived throughout in O. Fr. *il aime-t*[1], *il lit*, *il ouït*. But through one of those strange and inconsequent changes which often meet us in the growth of languages, and only too frequently in French, this etymological *t* disappeared from the first conjugation (*il aime*), while it remained in all the others (*il lit, voit, ouït*).

The 1st person plur. (amámus) was originally *aim-omes*. As time went on all the terminations in *-omes* were softened down into *-ons*, and the only relic of the form still to be found in Modern French is the word *sommes* (sumus), which has never been reduced to *sons*, as by analogy it should have been, like *aim-omes, aim-ons*.

The third conjugation in Latin (légěre) had the 1st and 2nd persons plur. légǐmus, légǐtis, strong; whence the resultants ought to have been *límes, lítes*, not *lisóns, liséz*, which are weak forms. The fact is that the word came to be wrongly accented, and pronounced legímus, legítis, whence the forms *lisons lisez* naturally followed. *Dîtes* (dícǐtis) and *faîtes* (fácǐtis), which are regarded as exceptions by grammarians, are in reality the regular forms. In Old French the 1st person plur. of these same verbs was

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[1] The *-et* in *aimet* was mute, as is the *-ent* of *aiment*.

also strong, *dîmes* (**dicimus**), in place of *disons*, and *faîmes* (**fácimus**) instead of *faisons*.

II. Imperfect.

-**ábam** became in French, following the dialects from south to north, *-ève, -oie, -eie, -oue*. Thus **amabam** became in Burgundy *am-ève*, in the Île de France (or in French proper) *am-oie*, in Normandy *am-oue*[1]. The dialect of the Île de France having gradually supplanted all the others[2], its imperfect *-oie*, -**abam**, prevailed, and became the type of the Modern French imperfect. In the fourteenth century an erroneous *s* was subjoined to the 1st person sing., and hence we get the form *-ois* (*aim-ois*), which prevailed up to the end of the eighteenth century, when Voltaire substituted for it the now established termination in *-ais* (*aim-ais*) A century before Voltaire, in the year 1675, an obscure lawyer, Nicolas Bérain, had already suggested this reform.

It may be further noticed that the 1st and 2nd persons plur. *chantions, chantiez*, now dissyllabic, were trisyllabic in O.Fr.—*chant-i-óns*, canta[b]-ámus; *chant-i-éz*, canta[b]-átis The older form marks the force of the Latin accent.

III. Perfect.

Cantávi, cantávit, cantávimus, have resulted regularly in *chantai, chanta, chantâmes. Chantas, chantâtes, chantèrent*

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[1] Notice how near the form *amève*, which retains the Latin consonant (**b**=*v*), is to the original **am-abam**. And indeed it is generally true that the Romance forms, which are as clear and sonorous in the south as the Latin itself, contract and become more dull-sounded as one goes farther northward. Thus **canta-bam** became in Spain *cantaba*, in Italy and Provence *cantava*, in Burgundy *chantève*, in the Île de France *chantois*, in Normandy *chantoue*. Latin words are like a very sensitive thermometer, which drops lower and lower as one goes northward, and the changes take place in continued and successive descents, not by sudden falls, according to the true saying :—'Natura nil facit per saltum.'

[2] This fact is explained above, pp. 24, 25.

however, do not come from cantavisti, cantavistis, canta-
vérunt [1], but from the contracted forms cantâsti, cantâstis,
cantârunt.   For the same reason *dormis, dormîtes, dormirent,*
come from dormîsti, dormîstis, dormîrunt, not from dor-
mivísti, dormivístis, dormivérunt.

It may also be remarked that the perfects of the first three
conjugations are weak : *chant-ai,* cantávi ; *dormis,* dormívi ;
rendis, réddidi [2].   The strong perfects, *vins,* véni ; *fis,* féci,
belong to the irregular verbs.

IV. Future and Conditional.

These tenses do not appear in the Table of Formation of
Tenses, because their proper place is not there.   The table
is intended to give a comparative view of those tenses which
come direct from the Latin, or in other words, of the simple
tenses : the future and conditional are compound tenses,
made up of the infinitive of the verb and the auxiliary *avoir*
(*aimer-ai, aimer-ais*).   On which point see above, p. 129.

V. Present Subjunctive.

The **t** which ended the 3rd person sing. of this tense in
Latin ame-t, dormia-t, redda-t, &c., though now lost in the
French *aime, dorme, rende,* &c., was present in O. Fr. *aimet,
dormet, rendet.*   It survives still in the two words *ait,* habeat,
and *soit,* sit.

It is now impossible to distinguish between the imperfect
indicative *chantions, chantiez,* and the present subjunctive.
In Old French they were clearly distinguished ; for the sub-
junctive forms were dissyllabic, while the imperfect indicative
was trisyllabic, following the Latin accent :—

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[1] These longer forms, following the law of the influence of
the Latin accent, would have produced in French *chanteïs,
chanteïstes, chanteirent,* not *chantas, chantastes, chantèrent.*

[2] For perfects of the third conjugation, see the chapter on
Irregular Verbs, p. 154.

Imperf. indic.: *Chant-i-ons*, cant-ab-ámus ; *chant-i-ez*, cant-ab-átis.

Subjunct. pres.: *Chant-ions*, cant-émus ; *chant-iez*, cantétis.

VI. Imperfect Subjunctive.

Here, as in the perfect indic. (III) the French form is derived from the contracted Latin form: *aim-asse* does not come from am-avissem, but from am-âssem.

VII. Imperative.

The 2nd person sing. is formed from the Latin imperative *aim-e*, ama; *fini*, finis, &c. The other persons are usually borrowed from the indicative.

VIII. Present Infinitive.

In addition to the details given in Section II we may here say that certain Latin infinitives in -ĕre (consequently *strong*) have produced *strong* infinitives in Old French, and weak ones in Modern French. Thus cúrrere, quaérere, frémere, gémere, imprímere, resulted in O. Fr. *courre*[1], *querre*, *freindre, geindre, empreindre*, while in Modern French these have become *courir, quérir, frémir, gémir, imprimer* ; these forms arising from a misplacement of the Latin accent.

IX. Present Participle.

The French language has here followed the objective case, am-ántem, *aimant*[2]; not the subjective, amans.

X. Past Participle.

All the past participles of what are called regular verbs are weak: *aim-é*, amátus ; *fin-i*, fin-ítus, &c. There are a

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[1] This form survived till the eighteenth century in the phrase '*courre* le cerf.' 'Aller *courre* fortune' is a phrase employed by Mme. de Sévigné, Bossuet, Voltaire, &c.

[2] [Or from amando, 'une femme *aimant* son mari,' 'femina amando suum maritum.']

few strong forms among past participles; but these belong exclusively to the so-called irregular verbs.

Originally, all past participles which were strong in Latin kept the strong form in French: thus *vendre*, **vend-ere**, had *vent*, not *vendu*, as its past participle. At a later period these forms were made weak by the addition of the final *u* (mark of the weak participle of the third conjugation). Then the strong forms disappeared from among the participles, though a considerable number of them are still in existence as substantives.

Before leaving the past participle we may observe that the Romance languages, and especially the French, possess the remarkable faculty of being able to form substantives out of past participles: we can say *un reçu, un fait, un dû*—words which are really the past participles of *recevoir, faire, devoir.* This is more especially the case with feminine participles, as *issue, vue, étouffée, venue, avenue,* &c. The number of substantives thus added to the language is considerable; for they are formed from both classes of participles, strong and weak:—

1. With weak, or regular, participles: *chevauchée, accouchée, fauchée, tranchée, avenue, battue, crue, déconvenue, entrevue, étendue, issue, revue, tenue,* &c.

2. With strong, or irregular, participles: *un dit, un joint, un réduit, un trait,* &c.

As we have said, these forms disappear as participles, and survive as substantives; as *vente*, **véndita**, a sale, the old form of the feminine participle, now *vendue.*

Subjoined is a list of such of these substantives as are most worthy of notice—'a list of which the special interest lies in the illustration it affords of the history of the Latin accent, and of the influence exerted by that accent at the time of the formation of the French language.'

By the side of the old strong participle, now a substantive,

and the Latin word it comes from, we will place the modern weak participle in a parenthesis.

1. First Conjugation: *emplette*, **implícita** (*employée*); *exploit*, **explícitum** (*éployé*).

2. Third Conjugation: *meute*, **móta** (*mue*), and its compound *émeute*, **emóta** (*émue*); *pointe*, **puncta** (*poindre*), from **púngere** (this word has remained as a participle in the expression *courte-pointe*, Old French *coulte-pointe*, Latin **cúlcita** *puncta*); *course*, **cursa** (*courue*); *entorse*, **intorta** (*tordue*); *trait*, **tractum**, and its compounds *portrait*, *retrait*, &c.; *source* (*surgie*), and its compound *ressource*, from the verb *sourdre* (**súrgere**); *route*, **rupta** (*rompue*), and its compounds *déroute*, *banqueroute* (i. e. *banque rompue*); *défense*, **defensa** (*défendue*), and its kinsfolk *offense*, &c.; *tente*, **tenta** (*tendue*), and its compounds *attente*, *détente*, *entente*, &c.; *rente*, **réddita** (*rendue*); *pente*, **péndita** (*pendue*), and its compounds, as *soupente*, **suspéndita** (*suspendue*); *vente*, **véndita** (*vendue*); *perte*, **pérdita** (*perdue*); *quête*, **quaésita**, and its compounds *conquête*, *requête*, *enquête*; *recette*, **recepta** (*reçue*); *dette*, **débita** (*dûe*); *réponse*, **responsa** (*répondue*); *élite*, **electa** (*élue*).

CHAPTER IV.

THE SO-CALLED IRREGULAR VERBS.

Grammarians have entitled the following verbs ' irregular,' and those treated of in Chapter III 'regular'; if, on the contrary, proper regard be paid to the place of the Latin accent, it will be seen that we are right in calling the former verbs *strong* and the latter *weak*. The terms ' regular ' and ' irregular' do but state a fact at best; the distinction between *strong* and *weak* reaches farther, for it expresses a principle. Looked at from our point of view, the old conception of

irregularity disappears, and only anomalous and defective verbs can be rightly styled 'irregular'; the *strong* verbs (hitherto named 'irregulars') ought to be considered simply as another form of conjugation. 'Irregularity' presupposes formations which, for whatever cause, have deviated from the typal form; but, in the case of strong verbs, no such deviation has taken place: they are as regular as any others, only they obey a different law [1].

The verbs usually styled 'regular' have a weak perfect, as **amávi**, *aim-ái*; **dormívi**, *dorm-ís*; redd-ídi, *rendís*, &c., and all regular verbs of the strong type have their perfect strong (i. e. accented on the root), as **ténui**, *tíns*; **díxi**, *dis*; **féci**, *fis*.

The first conjugation has no irregular verbs, properly so called; for *aller* and *envoyer* are anomalous.

There are only two irregular verbs under the second conjugation; *tenir* from **tenére**, and *venir* from **veníre**, having for their preterites *tins*, **ténui**, and *vins*, **véni**.

The seventeen verbs collected under the name of the third conjugation, which have vexed philosophical grammarians from Vaugelas down to Girault-Duvivier, are for the most part old strong verbs, like *recevoir*, **recípere**; *concevoir*, **concípere**; *décevoir*, **decípere**, which in Old French were *reçoivre*, *conçoivre*, *déçoivre*, following the law of their etymology. These all have the strong perfect, *reçus*, **recépi**; *conçus*, **concépi**; *déçus*, **decépi**.

The fourth conjugation has nine irregular verbs: *dire*, **dícere**; *plaire*, **plácere** [2]; *taire*, **tácere**; *faire*, **fácere**; *mettre*, **míttere**; *prendre*, **préndere**; *rire*, **rídere**; *lire*, **légere**; *croire*, **crédere**; of which the perfects are the following

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[1] Cp. Littré, *Histoire de la langue française*, i. 121.

[2] The accent on the verbs **plácēre**, **tácēre**, **rídēre**, came at last to override the force of the long penultimate. See above, p. 143.

strong forms—*dis*, díxi; *fis*, féci; *mis*, mísi; *pris*, préndi; *plus*, plácui; *tus*, tácui; *ris*, rísi; *lis*, légi; *crus*, crédidi.

CHAPTER V.

DEFECTIVE AND ANOMALOUS VERBS.

Defective verbs are those which, like *faillir*, are deficient in some tenses, moods, or persons.

Anomalous verbs are verbs the irregularities of which forbid them to be arranged under any class.   These are the true 'irregular verbs.'

SECTION I.

DEFECTIVE VERBS.

Two in the first conjugation—*ester* and *tisser*; six in the second—*faillir*, *férir*, *issir*, *ouïr*, *quérir*, *gésir*; thirteen in the third—*braire*, *frire*, *tistre*, *clore*, *soudre*, *sourdre*, *traire*, *paître*, *souloir*, *falloir*, *chaloir*, *choir*, *seoir* [1].

1. *Ester.* Used in the infinitive only in certain judicial formulæ, as '*ester* en jugement' (to bring an action, to institute a suit); 'La femme ne peut *ester* en jugement sans l'autorisation de son mari [2].'   This verb, which comes from the Latin **stare** (see above, p. 135, note 2), remains still in the compounds *contra ter*, **contra-stare**; *rester*, **re-stare**; *arrêter*

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[1] These verbs, which are now defective, had in Old French all their tenses and persons ; and consequently they have no real right to form a separate class.   It is in fact a *historical* accident, which may affect verbs of any conjugation.

[2] *Code Napoléon*, Art. 215.

(O. Fr. *arrester*), ad-re-stare; and in the participles *constant*, con-stantem; *distant*, di-stantem; *instant*, in-stantem; *non-obstant*, ob-stantem. The past participle *esté*, status, has been borrowed by the verb *être*, and contracted into *été*. See above, p. 135.

2. *Tisser* and *tistre*. These two verbs come from the Latin téxĕre. The strong form, *tistre*, téxĕre, which is the Old French one, has disappeared, leaving only its participle *tissu* (cp. *rendu* from *rendre*). The weak form *tisser* (which comes, as it were, from texére) violates the law of Latin accent, and is a modern word: it has completely driven out the old form *tistre*, though it has adopted its strong past participle.

3. *Faillir*. The persons of the singular *je faux*, *tu faux*, *il faut*, have almost fallen into disuse, and we may regret the fact. They remain in the phrases, ' le cœur me *faut*'; ' au bout de l'aune *faut* le drap,' i.e. ' the cloth fails at the end of the ell'; i.e. ' all things come to an end at last.'

The future and conditional *faudrai*, *faudrais*, are also being forgotten, and have been almost entirely replaced by the compounds *faillir-ai*, *faillir-ais*. Instead of ' je ne *faudrai* point à mon devoir,' people now begin to say, ' je ne *faillirai* point.'

4. *Férir*. From the Latin feríre. It survives in the phrase ' sans coup *férir* '—' D'Harcourt prit Turin sans coup *férir*.' In Old French this verb was conjugated throughout, and was, in the indicative present, je *fier*, fério; tu *fiers*, féris; il *fiert*, férit[1], &c.; in the imperfect *férais*, fériebam; in the participle *férant*, férientem; and *féru*, féritus, &c.

5. *Issir*. From the Latin exire. (For the change of e into *i*, see p. 60; of x into *ss*, see p. 84.) In Old French

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[1] This word remains in a few heraldic legends. The house of Solar had as its motto, ' Tel *fiert*, qui ne tue pas.'

this word was conjugated thus:—*is*, **éxeo**; *is*, **éxis**; *ist*, **éxit**; *issons*, **eximus**; *issez*, **exitis**; *issent*, **exeunt**. Imperfect, *issais*; future, *istrai*; participles, *issant*, *issu*, and *issi*.

6. *Ouïr.* From the Latin **audíre**. In Old French it was conjugated throughout, *j'ouïs*, **audio**; *j'oyais*, **audiébam**; future, *j'orrai*; participles, *oyant*, **audiéntem**; *ouï*, **auditus**.

The Old French future *orra*, now lost, was still in use in the seventeenth century: Malherbe wrote—

> 'Et le peuple lassé des fureurs de la guerre,
> Si ce n'est pour danser, n'*orra* plus de tambours.'

Later still, the imperfect *oyais* is playfully employed by J. J. Rousseau in an epigram—

> 'Par passe-temps un cardinal *oyait*
> Lire les vers de Psyché, comédie,
> Et les *oyant*, pleurait et larmoyait.'

The past participle survives in law terms[1]: '*Ouïe* la lecture de l'arrêt,' i.e. 'the reading of the judgment having been heard.'

7. *Quérir.* As to this word, of which the compounds are *acquérir*, *requérir*, and *conquérir*, see above, p. 151. The strong conjugation had *querre* as the infinitive (as may be seen as late as La Fontaine): present indic. *quiers*, *quérons*; fut. *querrai*; pret. *quis*; p. p. *quis* (*requis*, *conquis*, &c.).

8. *Gésir*, *gisir*. From the Latin **jacere**. The present part. of *gisir* survives, *gisant*, as does also the present indicative, *gît*. It has a derivative also, *gésine*: 'La laie était en *gésine*[2].'

9. *Braire.* Only used (according to the French Academy) in the infinitive and in the 3rd persons of the present indic., *brait*, *braient*; of the future, *braira*, *brairont*; and of

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[1] [So the Norman-French *oyez* survives in the English crier's 'O yes, O yes!' and in the law phrase '*oyer* et terminer.']

[2] La Fontaine, *Fables*, iii. 6.

the conditional, *brairait*, *brairaient*. But M. Littré shows clearly that this verdict of the Academy is too severe, and proposes to employ all the forms of this verb which existed in Old French (il *brayait*, il *a brait*, &c.). *Braire*, from the Low Latin **bragire*** (a word of obscure origin), bore in Old French the general sense of 'to cry out,' and was applied to man as well as to animals. It is only in later days that it has been limited to the braying of the ass [1].

10. *Frire.* From the Latin **frigere**. This verb still keeps all its tenses (*fris, frirai, frit,* &c.) except the imperfect *friais,* the participle *friant,* subjunctive *frie,* and the three persons plural of the present indicative, *frions, friez, frient* (as *rire* makes *rions, riez, rient*). All these forms are to be found in Old French.

11. *Clore.* From the Latin **claudere**: O. Fr. *clorre* retained evidence of the **d** in the first *r* (for the change from **dr** to *rr,* see above, p. 84). *Clos, clorai* (in Old French *closais*), *closant.* Its compounds are *éclore* (O. Fr. *esclore,* Latin **ex-claudere**), *enclore* (**in-claudere**), and the O. Fr. *fors-clore* (**foris-claudere**). The form **cludere** in **ex-cludere, con-cludere, re-cludere,** has produced the French forms, *exclure, conclure,* and Old French *reclure,* of which the past participle, *reclus, recluse,* still survives.

12. *Soudre* (O. Fr. *soldre,* Latin **sólvere**); like *moudre,* from **mólere**. The past participle was *sous.* The compounds *absoudre,* **absolvere**; *dissoudre,* **dissolvere**; *résoudre,* **resolvere**, also form their past participles in the same way, *absous, dissous*: *résous* has given way to *résolu,* though it remains in 'brouillard *résous* en pluie,' 'fog turned into rain.'

13. *Sourdre.* From the Latin **súrgere**. The strong participle *source* (as we have seen on p. 153) has survived as a substantive, and has a compound, *ressource.*

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[1] This is also true of the English verb 'to bray,' which is still used of the trumpet as well as of the ass.

14. *Traire.* From the Latin trahere. In Old French this word had the same sense as the Latin verb; and it is only lately that it has been restricted to the sense of milking. Compounds—*abstraire*, abs-trahere; *extraire*, ex-trahere; *soustraire*, subtus-trahere. In addition to these there are, in Old French, the words *portraire*, pro-trahere; *retraire*, re-trahere; *attraire*, at-trahere, the participles of which have given us the substantives *portrait*, *retrait*, *retraite*, and the participial adjective *attrayant*.

15. *Paître.* O. Fr. *paistre*, Latin pascere. The past participle, *pu*, survives in the language of falconry,—' un faucon qui a *pu*,' and in the compound *repu* from *repaître*.

16. *Souloir.* From the Latin sólere. It had all its tenses in Old French; but is now used only in the 3rd person imperfect indicative; ' il *soulait*,' i.e. ' he was wont.' La Fontaine says in his Epitaph—

> ' Quant à son temps bien sut le dispenser :
> Deux parts en fit, dont il *soulait* passer
> L'une à dormir, et l'autre à ne rien faire.'

17. *Falloir.* For this word, which comes from fallere, and only differs from *faillir* in its conjugation, see above, p. 156.

18. *Chaloir.* From the Latin calere. Now used only in the 3rd sing. pres. indic. : ' il ne m'en *chaut*,' = ' it does not trouble me,' ' is no affair of mine.' Still extant in La Fontaine, Molière, Pascal : ' Soit de bond, soit de volée, *que nous en chaut-il*, pourvu que nous prenions la ville de gloire[1].' Voltaire, too, has ' Peu *m'en chaut*,' ' little care I!' In Old French this verb had all its tenses : *chalait*, *chalut*, *chaudrai*, *chaille*, *chalu*. It survives in *non-chalant*.

19. *Choir.* O. Fr. *chéoir*, and in very early French *chaer*, *caer*, *cader*, Lat. cádere, wrongly accented as cadére (as we have seen above, p. 143). Now scarcely used except in the

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[1] *Provinciales*, Lettre ix.

infinitive. But the Old French conjugated the whole verb (*chois, chéais, cherrai, chut, chéant, chu*). The future, *cherrai*, was used in the seventeenth century : 'Tirez la chevillette, et la bobinette *cherra*[1]'; also the preterite *chut* : 'Cet insolent *chut* du ciel en terre[2]'; also the participle *chu*, as in Molière, *Femmes Savantes*, iv. 3 :—

> 'Un monde près de nous a passé tout du long,
> Est *chu* tout à travers de notre tourbillon.'

Its compounds are *déchoir* and *échoir* (de- and ex-cadere). In Old French there was also *méchoir, mescheoir* (from minus-cadere, see below, p. 192), of which the pres. part. survives in the adjective *méchant* (O. Fr. *meschant, meschéant*).

20. *Seoir.* O. Fr. *seoir,* and in very early Fr. *sedeir,* Lat. sədere. The participles *séant,* sedentem ; *sis, sise,* situs, sita, are still in use. Compounds, *asseoir,* ad-sedere ; *rasseoir,* re-ad-sedere ; and *surseoir,* super-sedere : also *bien-séant, mal-séant.*

SECTION II.

ANOMALOUS VERBS.

We have already said that the anomalous verbs are the true irregulars, as they cannot be brought under any common classification.

They are the following :

1. *Aller.* This verb has borrowed its conjugation from three different Latin verbs : (1) 1st, 2nd, and 3rd sing. pres. indic. from **vádere**—je *vais,* **vado** ; tu *vas,* **vadis** ; il *va* (O. Fr. *il vat*[3]), **vadit.** (2) The future and conditional (*j'irai, j'irais*) come from the Lat. **ire,** by the usual formation of the future (see pp. 129, 130). (3) All other tenses

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[1] Perrault.   [2] Bossuet, *Démonstr.* ii. 2.
[3] The *t* of this form *vat* is etymologically valuable.

(*allais, allai, allasse, aille,* &c.) come from the same root with
the infinitive *aller.* Whence then this *aller?* In Old French
it was written *aler* and *aner. Aner* leads us to the Low Lat.
anare, Lat. **adnare**[1]. (The change of n into *l*, **anare** to
aler, is not uncommon, as may be seen from such forms as
orphelin from **orphaninus,** &c.; see above, p. 66.)

2. *Convoyer, dévoyer, envoyer, fourvoyer.* The Latin **via,**
which has produced the French *voie,* formed in Low Latin a
verb **viare,** whence O. Fr. *véier,* the old form of the modern
voyer, preserved in the compounds given above. *Convoyer,*
con-viare, to convoy, travel with any one. A merchant-ship
is still said to be '*convoyé* par deux vaisseaux de guerre.'
Dévoyer, O. Fr. *desvéier,* Lat. **de-ex-viare.** It has another
form in *dévier. Envoyer,* O. Fr. *entveier,* comes from **inde-
viare**[2]. *Fourvoyer,* O. Fr. *forveier,* from **foris-viare,** to go
out of the way.

3. *Bénir.* As **dicere** has become *dire,* **benedicere** became
benedir, or *beneïr.* This, the Old French form, which shows
the continuance of the tonic accent, disappears by contrac-
tion, and is replaced by the modern *bénir.*

The so-called difference set up by French grammarians
between *bénite* and *bénie* is illusory, and has no foundation in

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[1] **Adnare** and **enare,** which rightly mean 'to go by water,'
soon came to express the action of coming and going in any
way : whether by flying, as in Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 16), 'Daedalus
... gelidas **enavit** ad Arctos'; or by walking, as in Silius
Italicus, '**Enavimus** has valles.' It is curious that this transi-
tion from sea to land has also befallen the verb *arriver.* The
Low Lat. **adripare** signified originally 'to reach the shore,' of
a traveller on board ship : thence it has got the wider meaning
of 'attaining to any end in view,' of *arriving.* [By a reverse
process the wayfaring **viaggio,** *voyage,* of Italy and France, has
in the hands of the seafaring English been limited to the paths
of the ocean.]

[2] It must be a typographical error that makes M. Littré derive
dévier from **deviare,** and *envoyer* from **inviare.** He knows
better than any one else that the Old French forms *desvier,*
entvoyer, preclude such derivations.

the history of the language. Participles ending in *-it* (as *bénit, finit, réussit*) dropped the *t* in the fourteenth century, and became *béni, fini, réussi.* The form *bénit* survives in the phrases 'pain *bénit*, eau *bénite.*'

4. *Courir.* For this verb see above, p. 151.

5. *Mourir.* From the Low Lat. morire*, a late active form of the deponent verb mori. See above, p. 129.

6. *Vivre.* From the Lat. vivere. The perf. *vécus* (O. Fr. *vescus, vesqui*) is singularly anomalous.

7. *Boire.* O. Fr. *boivre*, Lat. bíbere.

8. *Voir.* O. Fr. *véoir*, Lat. vidére. The Old French form displays the force of the Latin accent, and the loss of the medial consonant d. In eleventh-century texts the form *vedeir* is met with.

In Old French the future was *voir-ai*; and this, which is a better form than *verrai*, is preserved in the compounds *pour-voirai, pré-voirai*, &c. It would seem, at first sight, that *vis*, vidísti; *vîmes*, vidimus; *vîtes*, vidistis; *visse*, vidissem, violate the law of the persistence of the Latin accent; but this is not so, as is shown by the Old French forms *véis*, vidísti; *véimes*, vídimus; *véistes*, vidístis; *véisse*, vidíssem, &c. The same is true of *tins*, tenuisti; *vins*, venisti; *tinsse, vinsse*; which are not exceptions to the law of accent, but contractions from Old French regular forms, *tenis*, tenuísti; *venis*, venísti; *tenisse*, tenuíssem; *venisse*, veníssem.

9. *Mouvoir.* The Lat. movére produced at first the form *mover* (still in use in Central France), for which *mouvoir* was afterwards substituted.

10. *Savoir.* O. Fr. *saver*, Lat. sapére. This earlier form *saver* gave the future *saver-ai*, which, after being contracted into *savrai*, became *saurai* in the fourteenth century, just as habere produced *aver-ai, avrai, aurai.*

11. *Valoir.* From the Lat. valére. The pres. part. *vaillant* survives as an adjective.

12. *Écrire.* The O. Fr. *escrivre* preserved in its *v* evidence of the b of the Lat. scríbere. All the anomalous forms, such as *écrirons*, scribémus; *écrivais*, scribébam, are etymologically correct, and come from the corresponding Latin forms. Its compounds are *décrire, circonscrire, préscrire, proscrire, souscrire, transcrire.*

13. *Naître.* The common Latin converted all deponents into active verbs, as we have seen (p. 129). Thus nasci became náscere, whence *naître*, like *paître* from páscere. The barbarous perfect nascívi* produced the O. Fr. *nasqui*, now *naquis*.

14. Verbs ending in -*uire*[1]. *Duire*, dúcere (in its compounds *conduire, déduire, réduire, induire, traduire, produire, introduire*); *cuire*, cóquere; *nuire*, nócere; *luire*, lúcere, and the compounds of *struire*, struere; *construire, instruire, détruire.*

15. Verbs ending in -*ndre*. Those verbs, in which the *d* does not belong to the Latin root[2], as *ceindre*, cíngere, drop the *d* in the indic. pres. (*ceins, ceint, ceignons*, &c.), and have a strong past part. *ceint*, cinctus, which retains the Latin t. On this model are conjugated the following: *éteindre*, exstínguere; *étreindre*, stríngere; *contraindre*, constríngere; *astraindre*, astringere; *restreindre*, restríngere; *feindre*, fíngere; *enfreindre*, infringere; *peindre*, píngere; *plaindre*, plangere; *teindre*, tingere; *atteindre*, attingere; *joindre*, júngere, with its compounds; *oindre*, úngere, *poindre*, pungere; *épreindre*, exprimere; *empreindre*, imprimere; *geindre*, gémere.

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[1] All these verbs have a weak perfect, which hinders us from placing them under the irregular verbs.

[2] Thus the *d* of *rendre* (réddere) belongs to the Latin; that of *ceindre* (cingere) does not.

PART III.

PARTICLES.

UNDER this head we will consider the four classes of invariable words which have come down to the French from the Latin : Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, Interjections.

Before we go through them, two remarkable facts must be noted : (1) the addition of *s* (see above, pp. vii–ix) to the termination of most of the invariable words, which had no such final letter in Latin—as *tandis*, **tam diu**; *jadis*, **jam diu**; *sans*, **sine** ; *certes*, **certe**, &c., and the O. Fr. *oncques*, **unquam** ; *sempres*, **semper**; and (2) the suppression of the final *e* in the two substantives casa, *chez*, and **hora**, *or*, the proper French forms of which would have been *chèse* and *ore*, just as **rosa** has produced *rose*.   Let us add that, with the exception of two adverbs, *guères* and *trop*, which come from the German, all French particles are of Latin origin.

CHAPTER I.

ADVERBS.

The Latin suffixes, -e, -ter, which marked the adverb (docte, prudenter, &c.), disappeared because they were not accented; and, in order to produce a class of words which should bear the grammatical mark of the adverb, the French language, in common with the Italian, adopted another suffix. It took for this purpose the substantive **mens**, which under the Empire had come to mean 'manner,' 'fashion,' &c., as in Quinctilian, '**bona mente** factum'; in Claudian, '**devota mente** tuentur'; in Gregory of Tours, '**iniqua mente concupiscit**,' &c.   This ablative **mente**, joined with the ablative feminine of the adjective, produced the French adverbial

ending *-ment*: bona, cara, devota, mente; *bonne-, chère-, dévote-, ment.*

Now, those Latin adjectives which had different terminations for masculine and feminine (as bonus, bona) had also two in French (*bon, bonne*); while those Latin words which had but one termination for these genders had also only one in Old French: thus grandis, legalis, prudens, regalis, viridis, fortis, &c., became in French *grand, loyal, prudent, royal, vert, fort,* &c., and these adjectives are invariable for both genders in Old French. Consequently, in the case we are studying, adverbs formed by means of the former class (such as *bon, bonne*) always retained the *e* of the feminine in their root because mente is feminine (*bonnement, chèrement, dévotement*), while those formed with the latter class (*grand, royal,* &c.) never had *e* in the radical; and accordingly, in the thirteenth century, these adverbs were *loyal-ment, grand-ment, fort-ment,* &c. In the fourteenth century the origin of this distinction was no longer understood, and accordingly grammarians, not seeing why, in certain adverbs, the adjective was feminine, while in others it seemed to be masculine, inserted the *e* in all cases, as in *loyal-e-ment, vil-e-ment,* &c.— barbarisms opposed both to the history of the words, and to the logical development of the language.

SECTION I.

ADVERBS OF PLACE.

Où, Lat. ubi, O. Fr. *u.*

Ailleurs, aliórsum.

Ça, ecce hac, and *là*, illac (already treated of on p. 123); their compounds are *de ça, de là.*

Ici, ecce hic (see p. 123).

Partout, per totum.

Dont, de unde (see p. 124).

Loin, longe.

Dans, O. Fr. *dens*.   In Old French **intus** became *ens*, and de-intus, *deins* or *dens*,—compound *de-dans*.

En, O. Fr. *ent*, **inde** (see above, p. 120).

Céans, O. Fr. *caiens*, or *ca-ens*, i. e. **ecce-hac-intus**.   The O. Fr. *léans* or *laiens*, **illac-intus**, was the corresponding adverb.

Alentour, O. Fr. *à l'entour*, whence its etymology is clear enough.

Amont, **ad montem**, i. e. 'up stream'; its opposite is *aval*, **ad vallem**, 'down stream.'   The verb *avaler* used originally to mean 'to descend'; only in later times has it been limited to its present sense of swallowing down food.   A trace of the original meaning survives in Modern French in the phrase, 'les bateaux *avalent* le fleuve.'

For the adverbs *avant, devant, derrière, dessus, dessous, dehors*, see below, pp. 175, 176.

To these simple adverbs must be added adverbial expressions like *nulle part, là-haut, là-bas, en dedans, jusque-là*, &c., which are compounded of simple adverbs: and finally there is the adverb *environ*, compounded of *en* and the O. Fr. *viron*, a substantive derived from *virer* ('to *veer*' or 'turn round'); *environ* is therefore literally much the same with *alentour*. This O. Fr. *viron* is still to be seen in the substantive *aviron*, i. e. 'the instrument with which one turns or *veers* about.'

SECTION II.

ADVERBS OF TIME.

À présent, **ad praesentem**.

Or, **hora** (for the suppression of *h*, see p. 90).

Maintenant in Old French meant 'instantly' ('**manu tenente rem**').

Hui, **hodie**, still lingers in the legal '*d'hui* en un an'; also in *Aujourd'hui*, in Old French more correctly written

au jour d'hui, which is a pleonasm, for it signifies literally
' on the day of to-day.'

Hier, heri.

Jadis, jamdiu.

Fois, O. Fr. *feis*, *fes*, *ves*, from Latin **vice** (for the change
of **v** into *f*, see p. 69). Its compounds are, *autre-*, *par-*,
quelque-, *toute-*, *fois*.

Naguères, O. Fr. *n'a guères*, is a compound of *avoir* and
guères, which originally meant ' much ': ' je l'ai vu n'a guères,'
i. e. ' I have seen him no long time ago.' In Old French the
verb was not invariable; in the twelfth century there were
such phrases as ' la ville était assiégée, *n'avait guères*, quand
elle se rendit,' i. e. ' the town had not long been besieged
before it surrendered.' Remark too that the Old French has
n'a guère, *n'avait guère*, where Modern French would have
n'y a guères, *n'y avait guères* : the Old French not saying *il y
a* ; but *il a* (illud **habet**), according to the rule of the objec-
tive case (see above, pp. 102, 103). Thus, ' il a un roi qui . . .'
(**illud habet regem**), ' il n'avait aucuns arbres dans ce pays'
(**illud non habebat aliquas arbores**). *Roi*, *arbres*, are here
in the objective case ; in Old French the subjective would
have been *rois* (**rex**), &c. From the thirteenth century on-
wards the *y* appears in this phrase. But the old form *il a* is
still to be met with in the seventeenth century, in what is
commonly called the Marotic style : Racine writes—

> ' Entre Leclerc et son ami Coras
>   *N'a pas longtemps*, s'émurent grands débats.'

(For the etymology of *guères* see below, p. 171.)

Quand, quando. *Demain*, de mane. The Latin **mane**
gives the Old French substantive *main* : ' Il joue du *main au
soir*,' i. e. ' from morn to eve.' **De mane** formed the adverb
demain, which meant originally ' early in the morning.'

Tôt, O. Fr. *tost*. The origin of this word is obscure, though
it probably comes from the Latin past participle **tostus**.

burnt, parched, thence rapid, like a flame. By combining it with the adverbs *aussi, bien, plus, tant,* have been formed the compounds *aussi-tôt, bien-tôt, plus-tôt, tant-tôt.*

Longtemps (from *long* and *temps,* Lat. **longum tempus**).

Toujours, in Old French always written *tous jours,* simply a shortened form of the phrase *tous les jours.*

There was formerly an Old French adverb *sempres* formed from the Latin **semper,** which disappeared in the fifteenth century.

Encore, in Old French *ancore,* from the Latin **hanc horam,** 'at this hour.' This was the first meaning of the word, as is seen in the following passage: 'J'ai vu Paris, et j'y retournerai *encore,* quand je reviendrai en France,' i. e. '*at that hour* in which I return to France.'

Désormais, O. Fr. *dès ore mais* (see under the prepositions, below, p. 176, for the origin of the word *dès*). *Ore* is simply **hora,** and *mais* from **magis,** signifies 'further,' 'more' (=*davantage*). Thus then *dès ore mais* signifies, word for word, 'from this hour forwards,' or, 'from the present hour to one later,' i. e. 'onwards, dating from this present hour.'

Dorénavant, O. Fr. *d'ore en avant,* from this present time onwards, starting from this present hour [1].

Jamais. Jà and *mais; jà* is from **jam,** 'from this moment,' and *mais* from **magis,** 'more.' These two words could be separated in Old French; as, '*Jà* ne le ferai *mais,*' i. e. 'from this moment I will never do it again.'

Souvent, Latin **subinde,** which had the same sense in the common Latin. For the change of **inde** into *ent,* see above, p. 166.

Tandis, **tam diu,** formerly signified 'during this time.' In the thirteenth century the word was thus used:—' Le

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[1] The student will take notice how frequently the Latin **hora** (under the forms *ore, or*) occurs in French adverbial phrases : *or, lors (l'ore), alors (à l'ore), désormais, dorénavant, encore,* &c.

chasseur s'apprête à tirer, bande son arc; mais la corde se rompt, et *tandis*, le lièvre s'enfuit.' As late as Corneille we have—

> ' Et *tandis*, il m'envoie
> Faire office vers vous de douleur et de joie.'

Vaugelas and Voltaire, ignorant of the historic authority for this phrase, have blamed it as incorrect. It is quite right.

Lors, O. Fr. *l'ore*, illa hora, 'at this hour'; its compound is *alors*, O. Fr. *à l'ore*.

Puis, *depuis*: see under the prepositions, p. 175.

Ensuite, *en* and *suite*. *Enfin*, *en* and *fin*.

Donc, tunc.

Auparavant, from *au* and *par-avant*. The article *au* was added in the fifteenth century. In Old French the word was *par-avant*: 'Je ne voulus point être ingrat,' says Froissart, ' quand je considérai la bonté qu'il me montra *par-avant*.'

Déjà, de and jam.

Tard, tarde.

Soudain, O. Fr. *soubdain*, Lat. subitáneus.

Under adverbs of time may also be classed a great variety of adverbial phrases, like *tout à coup*, *d'ordinaire*, *de bonne heure*, *l'autre jour*, &c.

SECTION III.

ADVERBS OF MANNER.

As to the formation of these adverbs, which for the most part end in *-ment*, see above, pp. 164, 165.

To this division may be attached a whole class of adjectives, like *vrai*, *bon*, *fort*, *juste*, which do the work of adverbs (as in 'sentir *bon*,' 'courir *fort*,' 'dire *vrai*,' 'voir *juste*,' &c.), and answer to the neuter adjectives of the Latin (as multum, breve, &c.). We need make no remark on this

class beyond saying that they were far more numerous in Old French than now : thus, in the thirteenth century men said ‘aller *lent*,’ ‘agir *laid*,’ ‘aimer *grand*,’ ‘faire *seul*,’ &c., instead of ‘aller *lentement*,’ ‘agir *laidement*,’ ‘aimer *grande-ment*,’ ‘faire *seulement*,’ &c.

SECTION IV.

ADVERBS OF INTENSITY.

These are twenty-five in number.

Si, sic. Its compounds are—*aussi*, O. Fr. *alsi*, Lat. aliud sic ; *ainsi*, O. Fr. *asi*, Lat. hoc sic, or perhaps in sic (see Brachet, Etymological Dictionary, s. v. *ainsi*).

Assez, adsatis, signified originally ‘much,’ ‘very much,’ and was put after the substantive. In every page of the *Chanson de Roland*, we find such phrases as ‘Je vous donnerai *or et argent assez*,’ i. e. ‘plenty of gold and silver’; *trop assez*, ‘much too much’; *plus assez*, ‘much more,’ &c. So too the Italian *assai* is used; *presto assai* (prestus adsatis), ‘very quick indeed’ (but not=*assez vite*).

Tant, tantum. Its compounds are, *autant* (O. Fr. *al-tant*), aliud tantum ; the Old French *atant*, ad tantum (this word, signifying ‘then,’ occurs as late as La Fontaine) ; *pourtant*, *pour* and *tant*. This word, now a synonym with *néanmoins*, ‘notwithstanding,’ signified in Old French ‘pour cette cause,’ ‘for this reason.’ Montaigne speaks of a soldier who gave no quarter to his foe, and adds, ‘*Pour tant* il ne combattoit que d'une masse,’ meaning, ‘*for this reason* he only fought armed with a mace.’ The last compound is *partant*, per tan-tum=‘consequently’ (or ‘by so much’). So La Fontaine writes—

> ‘Les tourterelles se fuyaient
> Plus d’amour, *partant* plus de joie.’

Ensemble. O. Fr. *ensemle,* Lat. **in-simul.** For the change of ml into *mbl,* see above, p. 83.

Pis, **pejus.**

Mieux. O. Fr. *melz, mielz*; Lat. **mélius.**

Peu from **paucum,** as *Eu* from **Aucum**; *feu* from **focum**; *jeu* from **jocum.**

Tellement, telle and *ment.* For *telle,* see p. 127, and for *ment,* pp. 164, 165.

Beaucoup, beau and *coup.* This word is relatively speaking new, for it can be traced back only to the fourteenth century. *Grand coup* was the more common phrase; above all, the adverb *moult,* **multum,** which remains in the word *multitude,* **multitudinem,** was employed. *Coup,* O. Fr. *colp,* is **colpus***, which is met with in common Latin in the same sense : ' Si quis alterum voluerit occidere, et **colpus** praeter fallierit, et ei fuerit adprobatum, 2000 dinarios . . . culpabilis iudicetur [1].' **Colpus** was also written **colphus,** and is the Lat. **colaphus,** a box on the ear, blow, slap; Gr. κόλαφος. For the change from **cólaphus** to **colphus, colpus,** see p. 45.

Moins, **minus.** *Plus,* **plus.**

Bien, **bene.** *Mal,* **male**; whence *malséant, mal-veillant,* &c.

Combien, comme bien. Comme, com in Old French, is **quomodo.**

Comment, from *comme,* **quomodo,** with the suffix *-ment* already treated of.

Davantage. O. Fr. *d'avantage*; *de* has here the sense of 'from'; and *avantage* is from **ab-ante,** with termination **-agium** = *-age* (see below, p. 197).

Guère. O. Fr. *gaires,* which meant 'much.' In Provençal this word is spelt *gaigre,* and comes from the O. H. Germ. *weigaro,* which is in M. H. Germ. *weiger* [2]. This etymology

[1] *Salic Law,* xvii. 1.
[2] As in the word *unweiger* (=not much).

is sound in its foundations; for the German *w* passes into the French *g*, as in *werra, guerre*, &c., and the Provençal *gaigre* keeps the medial *g* of *weiger.*

Trop.   Low Lat. **troppus,** from the O. H. Germ. *drupo.*

Presque.   *Près* and *que.*

SECTION V.

ADVERBS OF AFFIRMATION AND NEGATION.

These are six in number.

Oui, O. F. *oïl.*   In Old French the Latin pronoun **hoc** became *o,* the *h* disappearing (cp. *orge,* **hordeum** ; *or,* **hora** ; *avoir,* **habere,** &c.).   In the thirteenth century ' dire ni *o* ni non' was used to express ' neither yes nor no.'   The Latin compound of affirmation **hoc-illud** became *o-ïl,* the medial **c** disappearing, as it did from **plicare,** *plier* ; **jocare,** *jouer,* &c. (see p. 92).   To this *oïl,* or **hoc-illud,** corresponded the Old French *nen-il, nenn-il,* or **non-illud,** which became in Modern French *nenni,* just as *oïl* has become *oui* [1].

Non, Lat. **non.**

Ne, O. Fr. *nen,* Lat. **non.**

Before going on to the prepositions we must take notice of a number of adverbial phrases which express negation [2].

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[1] Some old-fashioned etymologists have tried to derive *oui* from the verb *ouïr* (**audire**), past part. *ouï* ; but they have not seen, on the one side, that this past participle was always, in the middle ages, *oït* (**audítus**) ; and, on the other side, that *oui* was *oïl.*   To change *t* into *l* would have been a thing unheard of in the history of the language : and we may say at once that any derivation which pays no attention to the letters which are retained, changed, or thrown out, must be rejected. And, besides, the analogy between *oïl* (**hoc-illud**) and *nenn-il* (**non-illud**) would by itself alone prove the truth of the derivation we have advanced—a derivation justified also by the strict rule of permutation of letters.

[2] See Schweighäuser, *De la négation dans les langues romanes,* and Chevallet, iii. 330–340.

It appears perfectly natural to us, and almost instinctive,
when we desire to strengthen the expression of our affirma-
tive or negative statements, to join with them an illustration
or comparison (thus we say ' as poor as Job,' ' as strong as
a lion,' &c.), or an expression of value (as ' not worth a
farthing '). So also did the Latins : they would say a thing
was not worth an **as**, a feather, a speck in the bean, **hilum**.
Hence **ne hilum**, which afterwards became **nihil**. We get
the older form of the phrase in the line,

> ' Nil igitur mors est, ad nos *neque* pertinet *hilum.*'

> (Lucr. iii. 483.)

There are six of these adverbial phrases to express a
negative in French :

1. *Pas*, Lat. **passus** : from ' *ne* point faire un *pas*,' it passes
to ' je *ne* vais *pas*.'

2. *Point*, Lat. **punctum** : ' Je *ne* vois *point.*'

3. *Mie*, Lat. **mica** (which signified a speck or grain).   It
became *mie* just as **urtica** became *ortie*; **vesica**, *vessie*;
pica, *pie*, &c.   *Mie* was used in negation up to the end of
the sixteenth century, as ' Je ne le vois *mie* '; the Latin **mica**
was used in much the same way.   So Martial (vii. 25) writes,
' **Nullaque mica** salis.'

4. *Goutte*, Lat. **gutta** : also used negatively in Latin, as
in Plautus :

> ' Quoi **neque** parata **gutta** certi consilii.'

This phrase, which formerly was in general use (so ' *ne*
craindre *goutte*,' ' *n*'aimer *goutte*,' &c.) has been restricted since
the seventeenth century to the two verbs *voir* and *entendre* :
' *n*'y voir *goutte*,' ' *n*'y entendre *goutte*.'

5. *Personne*, Lat. **persona**, with *ne* takes the sense of ' no
one.'

6. *Rien*, Lat. **rem**, was a substantive in Old French, with
its original signification of ' thing '; so ' la *riens* que j'ai vue

est fort belle,' and 'une très-belle *riens*.'　Joined with a nega-
tive, it signifies 'no-thing,' just as *ne . . . personne* signifies
'no-person,' 'no one,' 'Je *ne* fais *rien*,' 'I am doing no-thing.'
This use of *rien* is very proper, and it only abandoned its
natural sense of 'thing' (as in the phrase 'on m'a donné
cela pour *rien*') to take that of 'nothing,' after having been
long used with *ne* to form a negative expression.　This
history of the word *rien* explains that passage of Molière in
which it is both negative and affirmative (*École des Femmes*,
ii. 2):

> 'Dans le siècle où nous sommes
> On ne donne *rien* pour *rien*.'

Finally, we may observe generally that at first these ad-
verbial phrases *pas, mie, goutte, point*, &c., were used in a
substantival sense, i. e. were always used in comparison,
and had a proper value of their own: 'Je *ne* marche *pas*,'
'I do not move a step'; 'Je *ne* vois *point*,' 'I do not see a
bit'; 'Je *ne* mange *mie*,' 'I do not eat *a scrap*'; 'Je *ne* bois
goutte,' 'I do not drink *a drop*'; &c., &c.

CHAPTER II.

PREPOSITIONS.

The Latin prepositions have, for the most part, survived
in French: though **ab, cis, ex, erga, ob, prae, propter,** and
some others of less importance, have perished.

Such new prepositions as have been formed by the French
tongue are either (1) compounds of simple prepositions, as
envers, **in-versus**; *encontre*, **in-contra**; *dans*, **de-intus**, &c.;
or (2) substantives as *chez*, **casa**; or (3) present participles
(or gerunds), as *durant, pendant, moyennant, nonobstant*, &c.

We may divide all prepositions into eight classes.

SECTION I.

PREPOSITIONS WHICH EXISTED IN LATIN.

These are ten in number:

(1) *A*, Lat. ad; (2) *entre*, Lat. inter; (3) *contre*, Lat. contra; (4) *en*, Lat. in, whence *en-droit, en-vers, en-contre,* &c.; (5) *outre*, Lat. ultra; (6) *par*, Lat. per; (7) *pour*, O. Fr. *por*, Lat. pro (for this transposition see above, p. 87); (8) *sans*, Lat. sine; (9) *vers*, Lat. versus; (10) *sur*, O. Fr. *sour*, Lat. super; the older form *sour* survives in *sour-cil*, supercilium.

SECTION II.

PREPOSITIONS FORMED FROM MORE THAN ONE LATIN PREPOSITION.

These are four in number:

1. *Avant*, Lat. ab-ante. Abante is not rare in inscriptions[1]. For the change of b into *v* see above, p. 70.

2. *Devant*, O. Fr. *davant*, compounded of *de* and *avant*.

3. *Puis*, Lat. post, has for its compounds *de-puis*, and *puiné*; the latter in O. Fr. was *puis-né*, from the Lat. post-natus[2].

4. *Vers*, Lat. versus, has for a compound *en-vers*.

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[1] We have a curious illustration of the use of this form in the old Roman grammarian Placidus. He strongly objects to this vulgar word, and warns his hearers against it—'**Ante me fugit** dicimus, non **Ab-ante me fugit** ; nam praepositio praepositioni adjungitur imprudenter : quia **ante** et **ab** sunt duae praepositiones.' (*Glossae*, in Mai, iii. 431.)

[2] [Cp. *aîné*, from ante-natus.]

SECTION III.

1. *Dans*, O. Fr. *dens*, Lat. **de-intus***, from **de** and **intus**, which made *ens* in Old French.

2. *Arrière, derrière.* Lat. **retro**, O. Fr. *rière* (as in *rière-fief*, &c.), became in composition **ad-retro** and **de-retro**, whence *arrière* and *derrière*.

3. *Dessus*, Lat. **de-susum***, from **de** and **susum**, often used for **sursum**, and found in Plautus, Cato, Tertullian, &c. Thus Augustine writes, 'Jusum vis facere Deum, et te **susum**,' 'you wish to depress God and exalt yourself.' The simple *sus* survives in such phrases as 'courir *sus*,' 'en *sus*,' &c.

4. *Dessous*, i.e. *de* and *sous*; *sous* comes from the Lat. **subtus.**

5. *Deçà, delà*, from *de* and *çà, de* and *là*.

6. *Parmi*, O. Fr. *par-mi*, from *par*, Lat. **per**, and *mi*, Lat. **medium.**

7. *Selon*, O. Fr. *sullonc, selonc*, Lat. **sublongum.**

8. *Dès*, Lat. **de-ex.**

9. *Avec*, barbarous Lat. **abhoc*** (for the phrase **apud hoc**).

SECTION IV.

Of these the chief are *durant, pendant, suivant, touchant, nonobstant, joignant, moyennant*, &c.

In Old French the participle was often put before the noun to which it was related, in phrases in which it answered to the ablative absolute of the Latins; as in the passages 'L'esclave fut jeté au feu, *voyant le roi*,' 'in the king's sight,' **vidente rege**; 'Une des parties vient de mourir *pendant le*

procès,' 'pending the case,' **re pendente**[1]. After the six-teenth century, these inversions being no longer understood, the French Academy, in ignorance of the history of the language, treated these participles as prepositions.

1. *Durant,* from *durer.* The French Academy decreed that 'sa vie *durant*' was an inversion of the proper order of words; wrongly, for 'durant sa vie' is the real inversion.

2. *Moyennant,* pres. part. of the old verb *moyenner,* 'to give means to one': 'il échappa *moyennant* votre aide,' i.e. 'your help giving him the means of doing so.'

3. *Nonobstant,* **non obstante**; i.e. 'nothing hindering.'

4. *Pendant,* from *pendre*: '*pendant* l'affaire,' **pendente re.** And so on for many others.

SECTION V.

These are eight in number :

1. *Chez.* The Latin phrase **in casa** became in Old French *en chez*; and so in the thirteenth century one would have said 'il est *en chez* Gautier,' 'est **in casa** Walterii.' In the fourteenth century the preposition *en* disappears, and we find the present usage, 'il est *chez* Gautier.'

2. *Faute* is simply the substantive *faute,* used in elliptical phrases, as 'faute de mieux.'

3. *Vis-à-vis,* Lat. **visus ad visum,** 'face to face.' The Old French used *vis,* and not the Modern French *visage,* for ' the face.'

4. *Malgré,* O. Fr. in two words, *mal gré*; from *mal,* Lat. **malum,** and *gré,* Lat. **gratum.** It is therefore equivalent to *mauvais gré.*

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[1] See Chevallet, iii. 335.

5, 6. *À cause de* and *à côté de* are formed by means of the substantives *cause* and *côté.*

7. *Hors,* Lat. **foris.** See p. 76.

8. *Lèz,* Lat. **latus.** In Low Latin **latus** was used as = **juxta,** 'near': 'Plexitium latus Turonem,' Plessis-*lèz*-Tours, i. e. near Tours; so Passy-*lèz*-Paris, Champigny-*lèz*-Langres. In Old French *lèz* was a substantive: 'Le roi est sur trône, et son fils à son *lèz*' (at his side, **ad suum latus**).

SECTION VI.

PREPOSITIONS FORMED FROM PARTICIPLES, ADJECTIVES, AND ADVERBS.

1. *Hormis,* O. Fr. *hors-mis,* i. e. = *mis hors,* Lat. **foris missus.** In this Old French phrase the participle *mis* used formerly to be declinable. Thus in the thirteenth century people said, 'Cet homme a perdu tous ses enfans, *hors mise* sa fille.' In the fifteenth century the participle *mis* became inseparably fixed to the particle *hors,* and in course of time the phrase *hors-mis, hormis,* became a preposition.

2. *Rez,* Lat. **rasus.** In Old French *rez* or *ras* was equivalent to *rasé,* shorn. 'Avoir les cheveux *ras*'; 'à *ras* de terre,' i. e. on the smooth-shorn level of the ground; so '*rez* de chaussée' is the floor of a house which is 'au *ras*,' i. e. on the level of the road.

3. *Jusque,* Lat. **deusque.** See p. 75.

4, 5. *Voici, voilà,* O. Fr. *voi-ci, voi-là*; from the imperative of *voir* and the adverbs *ci* and *là.* These were separable in Old French, as in '*voi* me *là*' (now 'me *voilà*'). In the sixteenth century we still find Rabelais saying '*voy* me *ci* prêt.' The French Academy, ignorant of the meaning of this phrase, decreed that *voici* and *voilà* were prepositions, and therefore inseparable words.

SECTION VII.

PREPOSITIONS COMPOUNDED OF THE ARTICLE AND A PRE-
POSITION WHICH STANDS FOR A SUBSTANTIVE.

*Au dedans, au dehors, au delà, au-dessous, auprès, au-devant,
au travers.*

SECTION VIII.

PREPOSITIONS COMPOUNDED OF A SUBSTANTIVE OR AN
ADJECTIVE, PRECEDED BY THE ARTICLE.

*Au lieu, au milieu, au moyen, le long, autour, au bas, du
haut,* &c.

CHAPTER III.

CONJUNCTIONS.

We will take them in the following order : (1) simple con-
junctions, which come from Latin conjunctions, as *car*, quare,
&c.; (2) conjunctions formed from Latin particles as *aussi*,
aliud sic, &c.; (3) conjunctival phrases, formed by adding
the conjunction *que* to certain particles, as *tandis que, quoi-
que*, &c.

SECTION I.

SIMPLE CONJUNCTIONS.

These are eleven in number :

1. *Car*, Lat. quare.   In Old French this word retained its
original sense of *pourquoi*, 'why.'   In the thirteenth century
men said ' Je ne sais ni *car* ni comment,' 'I know neither
why nor how.'

2. *Comme*, O. Fr. *cume*, Lat. quomodo.

3. *Donc*, Lat. tunc.

4. *Et*, Lat. et.

5. *Ou*, O. Fr. *o*, Lat. **aut.** For the change of **au** into *o* see p. 61.

6. *Quand*, Lat. **quando.**

7. *Que*, O. Fr. *qued*, Lat. **quod.**

8. *Mais*, Lat. **magis** : it formerly bore the sense of *plus*, ' more'—a sense retained in the phrase 'je n'en peux *mais*,' ' I can do no more,' and in the old adverb *désormais* ; see p. 168.

9. *Ni*, O. Fr. *ne*, Lat. **nec.** In Molière even we find '*ne* plus,' ' *ne* moins.'

10. *Or*, Lat. **hora**, signified 'now' in Old French. ' *Or*, dites-moi,' &c., ' now, tell me.'

11. *Si*, Lat. **si.** Compound *si-non*. In Old French these two particles were separable : ' Je verrai, *si* lui-même *non*, au moins son frère.'

SECTION II.

COMPOUND CONJUNCTIONS.

These are ten in number :

1. *Ainsi*, O. Fr. *asi*. Origin uncertain. [Perhaps from **in-sic** ; see Brachet, Etymological Dictionary, s. v.]

2. *Aussi*, O. Fr. *alsi*, Lat. **aliud sic.**

3. *Cependant*, from *ce* and *pendant*, literally = *pendant cela* : ' Nous nous amusons, et *ce pendant* la nuit vient.'

4. *Encore*, O. Fr. *ancore*, Lat. **hanc horam** (Ital. *anc-ora*). See p. 168.

5. *Lorsque* ; *lors* and *que*. For *lors*, see p. 169. This word may still be broken up, as ' *lors* même *que*.'

6. *Néanmoins*, O. Fr. *néant-moins*, from *néant* and *moins*. *Néant*, Lat. **nec-entem**,* literally = 'nothing.' Thus used by La Fontaine :—

> ' Car j'ai maints chapitres vus
>   Qui pour *néant* se sont tenus.'

Néan-moins is equivalent to ' ne pas moins,' 'none the less ':
' Il est fort jeune, et *néanmoins* sérieux,' i.e. ' none the less
for that.'

   7. *Plutôt*, from *plus* and *tôt*.   See pp. 167, 168.

   8. *Puisque*; *puis* and *que*.   See pp. 175, 180.

   9. *Quoique*; *quoi* and *que*.   See pp. 124, 180.

   10. *Toute fois*, Lat. totam vicem.   See p. 69.

SECTION III.

CONJUNCTIVAL PHRASES.

These are formed by the help of (1) adverbs—*tandis,
alors, sitôt, aussitôt, tant, bien, encore, afin,* followed by the
conjunction *que*; (2) prepositions—*sans, dès, jusqu'à ce,
après, avant,* also all followed by *que*. The etymology of
these words will be found in their proper places above.

CHAPTER IV.

INTERJECTIONS.

If we set aside such exclamations as *paix ! courage !* &c.,
which are elliptical propositions, (*faites*) *paix !* (*ayez*) *courage !*
&c., rather than interjections properly so called, there will
remain but little to be said on this subject : for real inter-
jections are fundamentally common to the speech of all
nations (as *oh ! ah !* &c.).   Two alone, *hélas* and *dame,* have
(as far as form goes) a real philological interest.

Hélas, written in Old French *hé ! las !* is composed of the
interjection *hé !* and the adjective *las,* lassus (= unhappy).
In the thirteenth century we have ' Cette mère est *lasse* de la
mort de son fils.'   ' Hé! *las !* que je suis !'   ' ah ! *sad* that I
am!' = woe is me!   Not till the fifteenth century were the

two words joined together in the inseparable *hélas !* At the same time *las* lost all its primitive meaning, and passed from the sense of sorrow to that of fatigue, as has also happened in the cases of *gêne* and *ennui*, which at first meant 'vexation' and 'hatred.'

Dame ! Lat. **Domine-Deus,** or **Domne-Deus,** became in Old French *Dame-Dieu*, a phrase to be found perpetually in medieval MSS. : ' *Dame-Dieu* nous aide.'   *Dame-Dieu*, first used as a subjective case, came afterwards to be used as an interjection, and was eventually shortened into *Dame* by itself; thus the exclamation *Ah ! dame*, which has nowadays lost all its meaning, signified originally ' Ah ! Lord God ! '

BOOK III.

ON THE FORMATION OF WORDS.

By the word 'affix' we mean that part of a word which is added to the root with a view to the modification of its meaning. Thus, given the root 'form,' we produce from it the words 'in-form-ation,' 're-form-ation,' &c., where *in-*, *re-*, *-ation* are affixes ('*affixa*,' fixed to a root). We call them prefixes if they are put before the root (*re-* in the word 'reform'); suffixes if they follow after it (*-ation* in the word 'reformation').

Prefixes, when joined to roots, form compound words; suffixes form derivatives. We will take these in order; in other words, we will first review all prefixes, and then all suffixes.

CHAPTER I.

COMPOUND WORDS.

We must distinguish between the composition (1) of nouns, (2) of adjectives, (3) of verbs, (4) of particles, the last being the most numerous and most important of all. And we must also consider prefixes from two points—that of their origin, and that of their form.

1. As to their origin. They may be either Latin in origin, as *re-nier*, *dé-lier*, from **re-negare, de-ligare**; or French in origin, that is to say, like *re-change*, created on the model of Latin prefixes, without any corresponding word from which they come.

2. As to form. Here it is especially necessary (as also in the study of derivatives) to distinguish clearly between the two classes of words which make up the French language (see above, Introduction, II, i–iv); namely, such compounds as *sour-cil* (**super-cilium**), or *sur-venir* (**super-venire**), which have been formed by the people ; and, on the other hand, such words as *supér-iorité*, or *super-fétation*, which have been constructed by the learned.

SECTION I.

OF THE ACCENT ON COMPOUNDS.

In the case of nouns, adjectives, and verbs, the compound word is accented in the ordinary way, as *or-fèvre* (**auri-faber**), *aub-épine* (**alba-spina**), *main-tenir* (**manu-tenere**), because these words are so closely attached to one another that they have entirely lost their separate existence.

In treating of the composition of particles (such as the **de-, re-,** in **deputare, reputare,** *députer, réputer*) it is needful, if we would explain the part played by the Latin accent, to distinguish between Latin compounds which have come

down into French, and compounds constructed by the French themselves.

§ 1. *Latin Compounds which have come down into French.*

' In the case of most words borrowed from the Latin, their primitive condition as compounds has been lost sight of, and the French language has treated them as simple words. The result has been that, as the accent often lay on the determining or emphatic particle, the word which followed it has been destroyed or so contracted as to become utterly indistinguishable, while the particle itself has lost its original sense : thus sarcóphagus came to O. Fr. *sarqueu*, Fr. *cercueil* ; trifolium became *trèfle* ; cólloco, *couche* ; cónsuo, *couds*. But, in many words, the French language has wished to express both the force of the determining particle, and also that of the word following it. To accomplish this, in the case of words which would naturally (through the position of the accent) have lost their form, like those we have just mentioned, the accent was thrown forward a syllable, and the word following the determining syllable received it, just as if it had never been a compound at all : thus é-levo became e-lévo, whence *elève* ; ré-nego, re-négo, Fr. *renie* ; cóm-pater, com-páter, Fr. *compère*, &c. This shifting of the accent, arising from the importance in sense of the latter part of these compounds, took place no doubt in the time of the " Rustic Latin," and before the formation of French. It was a good plan for bringing out the force of simple words, which had almost perished when in composition ; for words regularly formed retained no trace of them [1].'

§ 2. *Compounds constructed by the French language.*

' It was natural that in these cases the second method

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[1] G. Paris, *Accent latin*, p. 82.

of accentuation alone should be employed: no one thought of throwing back on the determining (or emphatic) particle the accent belonging to the word joined to it, in those cases in which it certainly would have been thrown back had the words been combined in the Latin. These compound words were then formed either by uniting particles of Latin origin to words to which they had never been joined in Latin; or by prefixing to Latin or French words Latin or French particles which had not been used in composition in Latin: as *archi-duc*, *vi-comte* (**vice-comes**); *en* (from **inde**), as *en-lève, en-fuis, en-voie*, &c.; *sous* (from **subtus**) as *sou-lève, sous-trais* [1]*,'* &c.

SECTION II.

WORDS COMPOUNDED OF NOUNS.

Of compounds formed by means of nouns there are three classes:—I. The combination of two substantives; II. Of a substantive with an adjective; III. Of a substantive with a verb.

I. Of two substantives: such are—*oripeau*, **auri-pellem**; *orfèvre*, **auri-faber**; *oriflamme*, **auri-flamma**; *usufruit*, **usus-fructus**; *bette-rave*, **betta-rapa**; *pierre-ponce*, **petra-pumex**; *connétable*, **comes stabuli**; *salpêtre*, **sal petrae**; *ban-lieu*, **bannilocus**; *mappemonde*, **mappa mundi**. So the names of days are formed: *Lundi*, **lunae-dies**; *Mardi*, **Martis-dies**, &c. So also proper names: as *Port-Vendres*, **Portus-Veneris**; *Dampierre*, **Dominus Petrus**; *Abbeville*, **Abbatis-villa**; *Châtelherault*, **Castellum Eraldi**; *Finisterre*, **Finis-terrae**; *Montmartre*, **Mons-Martyrum**; *Fontevrault*, **Fontem Evraldi**.

II. Compounded of a substantive and an adjective.

i. Substantive first: *banque-route*, **banca-rupta** [2]; *courte-*

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[1] G. Paris, *Accent latin*, p. 83.

[2] For this word see above, p. 153.

pointe, culcita-puncta; *raifort*, radix-fortis; *vinaigre*, vinum-acre; *rosmarin*, ros-marinus; *république*, res-publica. We may here add the compound *embonpoint* (*en-bon-point*), to which the Old French had a corresponding *enmalpoint*; and also certain proper names, as *Roquefort* and *Rochefort*, Rocca-fortis; *Château-Roux*, *Forcalquier*, Forum calcarium; *Vaucluse*, Vallis clusa, &c.

ii. Adjective first: *aubépine*, alba spina; *bonheur*, bonum-augurium[1]; *malheur*, malum-augurium; *chauvesouris*; *mal-aise*; *bien-aise*. Also *mi*, from medius, in the following words:—*Mi-di*, media dies; *mi-nuit*, media nocte; *mi-lieu*, medius locus; *mi-septembre*, &c.: also *printemps*, primum tempus; *prud'homme*, prudens homo; *vifargent*, vivum argentum; *sauf-conduit*, salvum conductum; *quintessence*, quinta essentia; *primevère*, prima-vera*. Proper names: *Courbevoie*, Curva via; *Clermont*, Clarus mons; *Chaumont*, Calvus mons; *Haute-feuille*, *Haute-rive*.

III. Compounded of a substantive and a verb: *maintenir*, manu-tenere; *colporter*, collo portare; *saupoudrer* (O. Fr. *sau*, *sel*, remains in *saunier*, salinarius), sale pulverare; *vermoulu*; *bouleverser*; *licou*, ligare collem; *fainéant*, facere necentem*; *crucifier*, cruci-ficare.

SECTION III.

WORDS COMPOUNDED OF ADJECTIVES.

I. Of two adjectives: *clair-voyant*, *mort-né*, *nouveau-ne*, *aigre-doux*, *clair-obscur*, &c.

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[1] *Bon-heur, mal-heur*, O. Fr. *bon-eür, mal-eür*. *Eür* meant 'chance,' 'presage,' and was always a dissyllable: it comes from Lat. au(g)urium, whence *aür* (twelfth century), later *eür*. Those writers who have derived this *-heur* from hora are wrong, because hora could only produce (and has only produced) a monosyllable, *heure*, with a final *e* answering to the a of hora: *eür, aür* being dissyllables, and ending with a consonant, could never have come from hora.

II. Of an adjective with a verb. The Latin -ficare becomes -*fier* in French, and enters into numerous compounds, some direct from the Latin, like **puri-ficare**, *purifier*; others, created on the same plan, but without Latin correspondents, such as *ramifier*, *ratifier*, *bonifier*, &c.

SECTION IV.

WORDS COMPOUNDED OF VERBS.

I. Of two verbs, or two verbal roots: *chauffer*, **cale-ficare**; *liquéfier*, **lique-ficare**; *stupéfier*, **stupe-ficare**, &c.

II. Of an adjective with a verb. See above, Sect. III, ii.

III. Of a verb and a noun. Add to the examples given above (Sect. II, III), *édifier*, **aedi-ficare**; *pacifier*, **paci-ficare**; *versifier*, **versi-ficare**, &c.

SECTION V.

WORDS MADE FROM PHRASES.

In those compound words which are really phrases, the accent lies on the last syllable (though they often have a half-accent, which is commonly neglected): *vaurien* (*vaut-rien*), *fainéant* (*fait-néant*), *couvre-chef*, *va-et-vient*, *hochequeue*, *licou* (*lie-cou*), *tourne-sol*, *vol-au-vent*, *pass-avant*, &c. The word *bégueule* (O. Fr. *bée-gueule*) is formed from *bée*, 'open,' past participle of the old verb *béer* or *bayer* (which survives in the phrase '*bayer* aux corneilles'), and *gueule*, **gula**. *Bégueule* thus signifies 'one who keeps his mouth open'— a mark of wonder and folly. The word *bée* is still used for the sluice of a water-mill, which sets the wheel in motion.

SECTION VI.

WORDS COMPOUNDED WITH PARTICLES.

These will be taken in the following order:—1. Prepositional particles; 2. Qualitative; 3. Quantitative; 4. Negative.

§ 1. *Prepositional Particles.*

These are thirty in number:

1. *A-*, *av-*, Lat. ab. This particle, which carries with it the notion of movement away, furnishes very many compounds: *avant*, ab-ante ; *avorter*, ab-ortare*[1], &c.

2. *A-*, Lat. ad. The Latin ad gives to the root the sense of drawing together, and thence of augmentation: *avertir*, ad-vertere ; *arriver*, ad-ripare[2], &c. New compounds are: *achever* (from *à chef*, i.e. = *à bout*, 'to the end.' In Old French the phrase ran 'venir *à chef*' = 'venir *à bout*'), *accoucher*, *abaisser*, *avérer*, *affût* (from *à* and *fût*, Latin fustis), *appât*, *affaire* (*à faire*), &c.

3. *Ans-*, *ains-*, Lat. ante. The Latin ante-natus became *ains-né* in the French of the twelfth century, *aïs-né* in the fifteenth, *aîné* in the seventeenth. The corresponding word is post-natus, O. Fr. *puis-né*, now *puiné*[3].

The compound ab-ante, Fr. *avant*, is used as prefix to very many words ; as *avant-bras*, *avant-scène*, *avant-garde*, &c. See above, p. 175.

4. *Anti-*, Gr. 'Αντί. This prefix, which must not be confounded with ante, indicates opposition[4], as *antipode*, *antipathie*, *antichrist*.

5. *Co-*, *com-*, *con-*, Lat. cum. *Cailler* (O. Fr. *coaillier*), co-agulare (see above, p. 81) ; *couvrir*, co-operire ; *correspondre*, con-respondere. New compounds are *complot*, *compagnon*,

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[1] Learned words are *ab-juration*, *ab-ject*, *ab-latif*, &c.

[2] Learned words are *ad-judication*, *ad-ministration*, *ad-orer*, &c.

[3] Learned words are *anté-diluvien*, *anti-dater*, *anti-ciper*, &c.

[4] We pass by the modern prefixes of technical words derived from Greek, such as *ana-* from ἀνά, as in *ana-logie* ; *épi-* from ἐπί as in *épi-graphie* ; *hyper-* from ὑπέρ, as in *hyper-trophie*. Their etymology offers no difficulties or peculiarities. 'Αντί has been placed in the text (although it has no right there, being solely a learned prefix), so as to avoid the not uncommon confusion between it and ante.

(from **cum** and **panis**, 'who eats bread with one'). The Low Latin word was, in the nominative, **companio**, whence O. Fr. *compain*; and in the accusative, **companionem**, whence Fr. *compagnon*.

6. *Contre-*, Lat. **contra**. *Contreseing*, **contra-signum**; *contrepoids, contre-faire, contre-bande, contrôle = contre-rôle* [1].

7. *De-, dé-*, Lat. **de**. *Déchoir, déclarer, demander, devenir, dégré, délaisser, dessiner*, &c.

8. *Dé-, dés-*, Lat. **dis, di**. *Déluge*, **diluvium**; *dépendre*, **dispendere**; *déplaire*, **displacere** [2]. New compounds are *dés-agréable, dés-honneur*, &c.

9. *E-, es-*, Lat. **e, ex**. *Essouffler*, **ex-sufflare**; *essuyer*, **ex-succare**; *essaim*, **ex-amen** [3], &c. New compounds are *effacer, ébahir, échapper*, &c.

10. *For-, four-*, Lat. **foris, foras**. *Forfait*, **foris-factum**; *fourvoyer*, **foris-viare**. **Foris** having produced *hors*, **foris-missum** became *hormis* (*hors-mis*). See above, p. 76.

11. *En-, em-*, Lat. **in**. *Ensemble* (O. Fr. *ensemle*), **in-simul**; *enfler*, **in-flare**; *encourir*, **in-currere**; *emplir*, **implere**; *empreindre*, **im-primere**. New compounds are *en gager, enrichir, embusquer, empirer* [4], &c.

12. *En-, em-*, Lat. **inde**. *Envoyer* (O. Fr. *entvoyer*), **inde-viare**. For the change from **inde** to *ent*, see above, pp. 120, 121.

13. *Entre-*, Lat. **inter**. *Entre-voir, entre-sol, entre-tien* [5], &c.

14. *Par-*, Lat. **per**. *Parfait*, **perfectus**; *parvenir*, **pervenire**; *parmi*, **per-medium**. New compounds are *parfumer, pardonner*, &c.

The Latins used the particle **per** to mark the highest

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[1] Learned words are *contra-diction*, &c.
[2] Learned words are *dis-cerner, dis-crédit*, &c.
[3] Learned words are *ex-cursion, ex-ténuer*, &c.
[4] Learned words are *in-cursion, in-time*, &c.
[5] Learned words are *inter-préter, inter-venir*, &c.

degree of intensity: **per-horridus, per-gratus, per-gracilis**, &c. So in French, *par-achever, par-faire*[1], &c.

15. *Pui-*, Lat. **post**. *Puiné* (O. Fr. *puis-né*), **post-natus**. (See above, No. 3, *Ans-*.) Such words as *post-dater, posthume*, &c., are modern.

16. *Pré-*, Lat. **prae**. *Prêcher*, **praedicare** ; *prévoir, préserver, prélendre*, &c.

17. *Por-, pour-*, Lat. **pro**. *Pour-suivre, pour-chasser, portrait*, **pro-tractus**.

18. *Ré-, re-, r'-*, Lat. **re**. *Réduire*, **re-ducere** ; *répondre, recueillir*, **re-colligere**, &c. New compounds are *rebuter* (*but*), *rehausser* (*haut*), *rajeunir* (*jeune*), *renverser* (*envers*), *de-re-chef*, &c.

19. *Rière*, Lat. **retro**. In Old French **retro** made *rière* (like **petra**, *pierre*); this form remains in *arrière*, **ad-retro**, a prefix found in such compounds as *arrière-ban, arrièreboutique, arrière-neveu*, &c. [So too *derrière*, **de-retro**.] *Rétro-actif, rétro-cession*, &c., are modern words.

20. *Sé-*, Lat. **se**. *Séduire*, **seducere** ; *sévrer*, **separare**, &c.

21. *Se-, su-, sou-, sous-*, Lat. **sub**. *Sourire*, **sub-ridere** ; *secourir*, **suc-currere** ; *souvenir*, **sub-venire**. New compound, *séjourner* (*jour*).

22. *Sou-, sous-*, Lat. **subtus**. *Sous-traire*, **subtus-trahere** ; *sous-entendre*, **subtus-intendere**. New compounds are *sous-diacre, sous-lieutenant, souterrain*.

23. *Sur-, sour-*, Lat. **super**. *Survenir*, **super-venire** ; *sourcil*, **super-cilium** ; *surnommer*, **super-nominare**. New compounds are *sur-saut, sur-humain, sur-face, sur-tout*.

The words *soubre-saut*[2], **super-saltum** ; and *subré-cargue*,

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[1] In Old French this particle was separable. Thus *par sage* (=*très sage*) might be written in two parts, as ‘tant *par* est *sage*’ (=‘tant il est *parsage*’). Similarly one may still say ‘ C’est *par* trop *fort*.’

[2] Our ‘ somersault.’

super-carrica (the proper French forms are *sursaut*, and *surcharge*), are of Spanish origin.

24. *Tré-*, *tra-*, Lat. **trans**. *Traverser*, **transversare**; *tra-duire*, **trans-ducere**, &c.   New compounds are *trépas*, **trans-passus**; *tressaillir*, **trans-salire** [1], &c.

25. *Outre-*, Lat. **ultra**. *Outre-passer*, *outre-cuidance*, *outre-mer*, &c.   Such words as *ultra-montain*, &c., are modern.

26. *Vi-*, Lat. **vice**. *Vicomte*, **vice-comitem**; *vidame*, **vice-dominus**.   Modern words are *vice-roi*, *vice-consul*, &c.

§ 2. *Qualitative Particles.*

These are four in number:

1. *Bien-*, Lat. **bene**. *Bien-fait*, **bene-factum**; *bien-heureux*, *bien-venu*, &c.

2. *Mal-*, *mau-*, Lat. **male**. *Mal-mener*, **male-minare**; *mal-traiter*, **male-tractare**; *mau-dire*, **male-dicere**; *maussade*, **male-sapidus**; *malade*, **male-aptus** (see above, p. 86); *malsain*, **male-sanus**.

3. *Mes-*, *mé-*, Lat. **minus**. *Médire*, *méfaire*, *méprendre*, *méfier*, *mésestimer* [2], &c.

4. *Mais-*, Lat. **magis**. From this word the conjunction *mais* is derived, though the French *plus* has taken the proper sense of the Latin **magis**: the old use remains in the one phrase, 'n'en pouvoir *mais*.'

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[1] Modern words : *tran-scription*, *trans-port*, &c.

[2] This prefix *més*, *mé*, does not come from the German *miss*, as has been thought, but from the Latin **minus**—an etymology confirmed by the old form of the French prefix, as well as by its form in the other Romance languages.   Thus the Latin **minus-pretiare** becomes *menos-preciar* in Spanish, *menos-prezar* in Portuguese, *mens-prezar* in Provençal, and *mes-priser* or *mé-priser* in French.

§ 3. *Quantitative Particles.*

1. *Bé-, bi-*, Lat. **bis**. *Bévue*, of which the proper sense is = *doublevue*. Learned words compounded with **bis-** keep the Latin form. So *biscuit*, **bis-coctus**; *bis-aïeul*, **bis-aviolus**; *bis-cornu*, **bis-cornu**, &c.

2. *Mi-*, Lat. **medius**. *Mi-di*, **media-die**; *mi-nuit*, **media-nocte**; *mi-lieu*, **medio-loco**; *mi-janvier, mi-carême*, &c. From **dimidium** we get *demi*; and similarly *parmi* from **per medium**.

§ 4. *Negative Particles.*

1. *Non-*, Lat. **non**. *Non-pareil, non-chalant*, present participle of the obsolete verb *nonchaloir*, a compound of *chaloir*, which has been discussed above, p. 159.

2. *En-*, Lat. **in**. *En-fant*, **infantem**. The learned form is *in* : *in-utile, in-décis*.

CHAPTER II.

ON SUFFIXES OR TERMINATIONS.

Suffixes, like prefixes, ought to be considered in their *origin* and in their *form*.

1. As to their origin. They may be either (1) of Latin origin, as *prem-ier* from **prim-arius**; (2) of French origin, that is, built on the lines of the Latin suffixes (as *encr-ier* from French *encre*), without having any corresponding Latin original.

2. As to their form. We must carefully distinguish between suffixes formed by the learned and those formed by the people: between such as *prim-aire, sécul-aire, scol-aire*, which are of the former kind, and such as *prem-ier*, **prim-arius**; *sécul-ier*, **saecul-aris**; *écol-ier*, **schol-aris**, which are of the latter description.

SECTION I.

OF THE ACCENTUATION OF DERIVED WORDS.

Latin suffixes may be classed under two heads : the accented, as **mort-ális, hum-ánus, vulg-áris**, &c. ; and the unaccented or atonic, as **ás-inus, pórt-icus, mób-ilis**.

The accented Latin suffixes are retained in the French, as *mort-el, hum-ain, vulg-aire*. These suffixes (*-el, -ain, -aire*) are further employed in French to produce fresh derived words, by attaching them to words which were without them in Latin : thus have been formed such words as *visu-el, loint-ain, visionn-aire*, derivatives independently constructed by the French language.

Atonic Latin suffixes, like **ás-inus, pórt-icus, júd-icem**, are all shortened as they pass into the French language[1], following therein the natural law of accent (as explained above, pp. 43–48). So **as-inus** produced *âne*; port-icus, *porche*; jud-icem, *juge*. Consequently no subsequent derivatives could be formed from these weak suffixes : it was not till a later period that the learned, ignorant of the part played by the Latin accent in forming French terminations, copied the Latin form, and gave it a false accent away from the syllable which had the true and original accent. Then came up such words as *portique*, **porticus**; *mobile*, **mobilis**; *fragile*, **fragilis**[2]; words formed in opposition to the genius of the French language, barbarous words, neither Latin nor French, which violate the laws of accentuation of both tongues.

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[1] By the French Language must be understood the words of unconscious and popular formation, as opposed to learned words introduced consciously into the language.

[2] Old French, which always observed the law of the accent, said *porche*, **pórticus**; *meuble*, **móbilis**; *frêle*, **frágilis**; instead of *portique, mobile, fragile*.

French suffixes are to be distinguished into *nominal* (substantives and adjectives) and *verbal*. In each of these classes we will study successively the suffixes which are accented in Latin, and those which are not; carefully and rigidly excluding every word which has crept into the language since the time of its proper formation.

SECTION II.

NOMINAL SUFFIXES.

§ 1. *Suffixes accented in Latin.*

-*El, -al*, Lat. -alis. *Mort-el*, mort-alis; *chept-el*, capit-ále; *hôt-el*, hospit-ále; *roy-al*, reg-ális; *loy-al*, leg-ális[1].

-*Aim, -ain, -en*, Lat. -amen. *Air-ain*, aer-ámen; *lev-ain*, lev-ámen; *ess-aim*, exámen; *li-en*, lig-ámen.

-*On*, Lat. -umen. *Bét-on*, bit-úmen[2].

-*Ance*, Lat. -antia. *Répugn-ance*, repugn-ántia. French derivatives[3], *nu-ance, sé-ance*, &c.

-*Ande, -ende*, Lat. -anda, -enda. *Vi-ande*, viv-énda; *provende*, provid-énda; *lég-ende*, leg-énda. French derivatives *offr-ande, réprim-ande, jur-ande*, &c.

-*Ant, -and*, Lat. -antem; -*ent*, Lat. -entem. *March-and*, merc-ántem; *am-ant*, am-ántem. *Méch-ant* (O. Fr. *meschéant*, participle of the verb *meschéoir*, see above, pp. 159, 160) comes from *més* = minus (see p. 180), and the verb *chéoir*,

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[1] The learned language has kept *al* for this suffix; as in *hôpit-al, nat-al, capit-al.*

[2] Learned forms are, for -amen, -*amen*, as in *ex-amen*: for -imen, -*ime*, as in *reg-imen, régime*; *cr-imen, cr-ime*: for -umen, -*ume*, as in *bit-umen, bit-ume*; *leg-umen, lég-ume*; *vol-umen, vol-ume.*

[3] By 'French derivatives' are meant derivatives which are formed first-hand by the French language, and have no words corresponding to them in Latin.

cadere: thus *méchant* represents the Latin **minus-cadéntem**; *sergent*, **servi-éntem**; *éché-ant*, **ex-cad-éntem.**

-*Ain*, Lat. -anus. *Aub-ain*, alb-ánus; *cert-ain*, cert-ánus*; *rom-ain*, rom-ánus; *hum-ain*, hum-ánus. **-Anus** becomes -*en*, -*ien*, after a vowel, or when the medial consonant falls out; as *chrét-ien*, christ-iánus; *anc-ien*, ant-iánus*; *paï-en*, pa[g]-ánus; *doy-en*, de[c]-ánus. French derivatives are *haut, hautain; chapelle, chapelain*, &c.[1]

-*Ein*, -*in*, -*oin*, -*ene*, Lat. -enus, -ena, -enum. *Ven-in*, ven-énum; *av-oine*, av-éna; *ch-aîne* (O. Fr. *chaëne*), cat-éna.

-*Ard*, Lat. -ardus. The German suffix -*hart*, Low Lat. -ardus, which indicates intensity, has furnished the French language with a very considerable number of derivatives, as *pleur-ard, fuy-ard*, &c.

-*Er*, -*ier*, Lat. -aris, -arius; -*ière*, Lat. -aria. *Prem-ier*, prim-árius; *sécul-ier*, saecul-áris; *gren-ier*, gran-árium; *ecuyer*, scut-árius; *riv-ière*, rip-ária; *écol-ier*, schol-áris; *sangl-ier*, singul-áris (sc. porcus); *fum-ier*, fim-árium. New derivatives, *plen-ier* (*plein*); *barr-ière* (*barre*), &c.[2]

The suffix -*ier*, perhaps the most fertile in the language, has formed a number of derivatives which had no existence in Latin. It most frequently designates (1) names of trades, as *boutiqu-ier, pot-ier, batel-ier, vigu-ier*, &c.; (2) objects in daily use, as *sabl-ier, encr-ier, fo-yer*, &c.; and (3) names of trees, as *poir-ier, pomm-ier, peupl-ier, laur-ier, figu-ier*, &c.

-*É*, Lat. -atus; *ée*, Lat. -ata. *Aim-é*, am-átus; *avou-é*, advoc-átus; *duch-é*, duc-átus; *évêch-é*, episcop-átus; *che-vauch-ée*, caballic-áta; *aim-ée*, am-áta, &c.

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[1] Learned form, -*an*: *pl-an*, pl-anus; *vété-ran*, veter-anus; &c. Many words, such as *courtis-an*, &c., come from the Italian (*cortigiano*, &c.), and date from the sixteenth century.

[2] Learned form -*aire*: *scol-aire*, schol-aris; *sécul-aire*, saecul-aris; *calc-aire*, calc-arium.

Certain derivatives in *-ade*, as *estrap-ade*, *cavalc-ade*, *estr-ade*, *estac-ade*, &c., come from the Italian. The French form is naturally *-ée*, as is seen in the doublets *cavalcade* and *chevauch-ée*; *estrade* and *estr-ée*, **strata**; *escapade* (It. *scappata*), and *échapp-ée*[1].

-Age, Lat. *-aticus*. *-Aticus* is formed with *-icus* (see p. 201). *Voy-age* (O. Fr. *viat-ge*), **vi-áticum**; *from-age*, **form-áticum**; *vol-age*, **vol-áticum**; *ombr-age*, **umbr-áticum**; *ram-age*, **ram-áticum**; *mess-age*, **miss-áticum**; *sauv-age*, **silv-áticus**[2].

Hence come French derivatives: *mesur-age, labour-age, alli-age, arros-age*, &c. It has been said that these words come from a Low Latin suffix in *-agium* (as *message* from **mess-agium***, *hom-age* from **hom-agium***). Though, however, **mess-agium*** certainly exists, it is far from being the parent of the Fr. *message*; on the contrary, it is nothing but the French word latinised by the clergy, at a time when no one knew either the origin of the word (**missaticum**) or the nature of the suffix which formed it.

-Âtre, Lat. *-aster*. This suffix, which gives to the root the sense of depreciation, has produced numerous French derivatives unknown to the Latin, as *bell-âtre, douce-âtre, gentill-âtre, opini-âtre, mar-âtre, par-âtre*, &c.

-Ai, Lat. *-acem*. *Vr-ai*, **ver-ácem**; *ni-ais*, **nid-ácem**, &c. The learned form is *-ace*: *ten-ace, rap-ace, vivace*, &c.

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[1] Learned form, *at*: *avoc-at*, **avoc-atus**; *consul-at*, **consul-atus**; *épiscop-at*, &c.

[2] **Silva** in Old French became *selve, sauve*, which, as a common noun, is lost, though it survives in certain names of places, as *sauve-Saint Benoît*, **silva S. Benedicti**. From **silva** came **silváticus**, whence *sauv-age*, O. Fr. *selvatge*. Nothing but a complete misunderstanding or ignorance of the laws of the formation of the French language could have ever allowed people to derive *sauvage* from **solivagus***. That word could only have produced in French the form *seulige*.

-*Elle*, Lat. -ela.   *Chand-elle*, cand-éla ; *quer-elle*, quer-éla ; *tut-elle*, tut-éla, &c.

-*El*, -*al*, Lat. -elis.   *Cru-el*, crud-élis ; *fé-al*, fid-élis.

-*El*, -*eau*, Lat. -ellus.   *Jum-eau*, gem-éllus ; *b-eau*, b-éllus, &c.

-*Ois*, -*ais*, -*is*, Lat. -ensis.   Such Latin derivatives as for-énsis, hort-énsis, nemor-énsis, have given no words to the French, which has used this termination only for words of modern formation, such as *court-ois*, *bourg-eois*, *harn-ois*, *marqu-is*, &c. ; or for proper names, as *Orléan-ais*, Aurelian-énsis, *Carthagin-ois*, Carthagini-énsis, &c.

-*Erne*, Lat. -erna.   *Cit-erne*, cist-érna ; *lant-erne*, lant-érna ; *tav-erne*, tab-érna.

-*Éte*, Lat. -estus.   *Honn-éte*, hon-éstus, &c.

-*Ay*, -*aie*, Lat. -etum.   Derivatives with this termination in Latin indicated a place or district planted with trees of a particular kind.   Though neuter in Latin, they became fem. in French: *aun-aie*, aln-étum ; *orm-aie*, ulm-étum ; *sauss-aie*, salic-étum.   Hence such proper names as *Chaten-ay*, Castan-étum ; *Rouvr-ay*, Robor-étum ; *Auln-ay*, Aln-étum, &c.   French derivatives are *chén-aie* (*chéne*); *houss-aie* (*houx*); *chátaigner-aie* (*chátaignier*); *roser-aie* (*rosier*), &c.

-*Is*, Lat. -ecem, from -ex.   *Breb-is*, verv-écem.

-*Is*, *ix*, -*isse*, Lat. -icem.   *Perdr-ix*, perd-ícem ; *gén-isse*, jun-ícem.

-*In*, -*ain*, Lat. -ignus.   *Bén-in*, ben-ígnus ; *mal-in*, mal-ígnus ; *déd-ain*, disd-ígnum*, &c.

-*Il*, Lat. -ilis.   *Puer-il*, *gent-il*, &c.   The suffix -ilis is joined only to nouns and adverbs ; ilis only to verbs.

-*In*, Lat. -inus.   *Dev-in*, div-ínus ; *pèler-in*, peregr-ínus ; *vois-in*, vic-ínus, &c.   French derivatives are *mut-in*, *bad-in*, *cristall-in*.

-*Iŏlus*, -*eŏlus*, compound suffixes (for -ŏlus, see p. 202), which were dissyllabic (iŏ, eŏ) in Latin, were contracted into

a long penultimate in the seventh century, iō, eō, thence-forwards accented -iólus, -eólus, whence came the French terminations *-eul, -ieul, -euil, -iol, -ol*: thus *fill-eul*, fil-iólus; *chevr-euil*, capr-eólus; *linc-euil*, lint-eólum; *gla-ïeul*, gladiólus; *rossig-nol*, luscin-iólus; *aïeul*, av-iólus.

-*Esse*, Lat. -issa.   *Abb-esse*, abbat-íssa; *prophét-esse*, prophet-íssa; *venger-esse, traîtr-esse*, &c.

-*Iste*, Lat. -ista.   A suffix very common in French: *droguiste, ébén-iste*, &c.

-*Esse*, Lat. -itia.   *Just-esse*, just-ítia; *moll-esse*, moll-ítia; *par-esse*, pigr-ítia; *trist-esse*, trist-ítia.   French derivatives: *ivr-esse, polit-esse, tendr-esse.*

-*If*, Lat. -ivus.   *Chét-if*, capt-ívus; *na-ïf-*, nat-ívus. French derivatives are many, *pens-if, hât-if, craint-if, ois-if*, &c.

-*Lent*, -*lant*, Lat. -lentus.   *Vio-lent*, vio-léntus; *sang-lant*, &c.

-*Ment*, Lat. -mentum.   *Vête-ment*, vesti-méntum; *froment*, fru-méntum, &c.   French derivatives: *ménage-ment, change-ment*, &c.

-*Eur*, Lat. -orem.   *Chant-eur*, cant-órem; *sauv-eur*, salvat-órem; *su-eur*, sud-órem; *past-eur*, past-órem; *pêcheur*, peccat-órem, &c.

-*Eux*, Lat. -osus.   *Épin-eux*, spin-ósus; *pierr-eux*, petrósus; *envi-eux*, invidi-ósus, &c.   French derivatives, *heureux* (O. Fr. *heur*, see p. 187), *hont-eux*, &c.

-*On*, Lat. -onem.   *Charb-on*, carb-ónem; *pa-on*, pav-ónem; *larr-on*, latr-ónem, &c.

-*On*, Lat. -ionem.   *Soupç-on*, suspic-iónem; *pige-on*, pipi-ónem; *poiss-on*, L. Lat. pisc-iónem*; *moiss-on*, messi-ónem; *mais-on*, mans-iónem, &c.

-*Son*, Lat. -tionem.   *Rai-son*, ra-tiónem; *poi-son*, po-tiónem; *venai-son*, vena-tiónem; *liai-son*, liga-tiónem; *saison*, sa-tiónem; *fa-çon*, fac-tiónem; *le-çon*, lec-tiónem, &c.

The form -*tion* is of learned origin, as in the words *ra-tion*, *po-tion*, *liga-tion*, *fac-tion*, &c.

-*Té*, Lat. -tatem. *Ci-té*, ci-tátem*[1]; *sure-té*, securi-tátem; *pauvre-té*, pauper-tátem; &c. French derivatives: *nouveau-té*, *opiniâtre-té*, &c.

-*I*, Lat. -icus; -*ie*, Lat. -ica. *Am-i*, am-ícus; *ennem-i*, inim-ícus; *fourm-i*, form-ícus*; *ort-ie*, urt-íca; *vess-ie*, ves-íca; *m-ie*, m-íca; *p-ie*, p-íca. The learned form is -*ique*: *ant-ique*, *pud-ique*, &c.

-*Ue*, Lat. -uca. *Verr-ue*, verr-úca; *lait-ue*, lact-úca; *charr-ue*, carr-úca; *fét-u*, fest-úca.

-*Oir*, Lat. -orium. *Dort-oir*, dormit-órium; *press-oir*, press-órium; *dol-oire*, dolat-órium, &c. French derivatives: *parl-oir*, *abbatt-oir*, *bruniss-oir*, *mâch-oire*, *balanç-oire*.

-*Ond*, Lat. -undus. *Rond* (O. Fr. *roond*), rot-úndus.

-*Un*, Lat. -unus. *Je-un* (O. Fr. *jeûn*), jej-únus; *Verd-un*, **V**irod-únum.

-*Ure*, Lat. -ura. *Mes-ure*, mens-úra; *peint-ure*, pict-úra. French derivatives: *froid-ure*, *verd-ure*, &c.

-*Our*, Lat. -urnus. *F-our*, f-úrnus; *j-our*, di-úrnus; *aub-our*, alb-úrnum, &c.

-*U*, Lat. -utus. *Corn-u*, corn-útus; *chen-u*, can-útus. French derivatives in abundance: *barb-u*, *jouffl-u*, *ventr-u*, *membr-u*, *chevel-u*, &c.

§ 2. *Suffixes which are Atonic in Latin.*

' All these suffixes disappeared in the true French, and were consequently useless for the purpose of producing new derivatives; they recovered their place and reappeared directly men lost sight of the genius of the language, and became ignorant of the rule of accent[2].'

---

[1] Common Latin for civitatem.
[2] G. Paris, *Accent latin*, p. 92.

In considering these Latin atonic suffixes we are bound strictly to neglect every word that has been introduced into the French language since the period of its natural formation.

-Ge, -che, Lat. *-eus, -ius. Étran-ge,* extrán-eus; *lan-ge,* lan-eus; *délu-ge,* diluv-ium; *lin-ge,* lín-eus; *pro-che,* próp-ius; *sa-ge,* sáp-ius; *sin-ge,* sím-ius; *or-ge,* hórd-eum; *rou-ge,* rúb-eus; *au-ge,* álv-ea; *son-ge,* sómn-ium; *Liè-ge,* Leód-ium; *Maubeu-ge,* Malbód-ium; *cier-ge,* cér-eus [1]. For the change of eus, ius, into *ge, che,* see above, p. 75.

-Ge, -gne, Lat. *-ea. Ca-ge,* cáv-ea; *gran-ge,* grán-ea; *vi-gne,* vín-ea; *li-gne,* lín-ea; *tei-gne,* tín-ea. For the change of ea into *ge,* see above, p. 75.

-Ge, -che, -ce, Lat. *-ia;* or it disappears altogether. *Vendan-ge,* vindém-ia; *angois-se,* angúst-ia; *cigo-gne,* cicón-ia; *ti-ge,* tíb-ia; *sè-che,* sép-ia; *sau-ge,* sálv-ia; *env-ie,* invíd-ia; *grâ-ce,* grát-ia; *histoi-re,* histór-ia; *Bourgo-gne,* Burgúnd-ia; *France,* Fránc-ia; *Grè-ce,* Graécia; *Breta-gne,* Británn-ia [2]. For the change of ia into *ge,* see above, pp. 74, 75.

-Ce, -se, -ge, Lat. *-icem* (from *-ex, -ix*): *her-se,* hérp-icem; *pu-ce,* púl-icem; *ju-ge,* júd-icem; *pou-ce,* póll-icem; *pon-ce,* púm-icem; *écor-ce,* córt-icem [3].

-Che, -ge, Lat. *-icus, -a, -um. Por-che,* pórt-ĭcus; *man-che,* mán-ica; *ser-ge,* sér-ĭca; *diman-che,* domín-ica; *Sainton-ge,* Santón-ica; *for-ge* (O. Fr. *faur-ge*), fábr-ica (see p. 86); *per-che,* pért-ica; *piè-ge,* péd-ica [4].

-Idus disappears in French. *Pâle,* páll-idus; *net,* nít-

---

[1] Learned form *é*, as *ign-é,* ign-eus.

[2] Learned form *ie*, as *chimie, philosoph-ie, symphon-ie, Austral-ie.* But we must not confound this termination with the proper French derivatives in *ie,* as *felon-ie (felon), tromper-ie (tromper),* &c., which are popular and very numerous.

[3] Learned form *ice*: *cal-ice,* cál-icem.

[4] Learned form *ique*: *port-ique,* pórt-icus; *fabr-ique,* fábr-ica; *viat-ique,* viát-icum.

idus; *chaud,* cál-idus (Low Lat. cal-dus); *tiède,* tép-idus; *roide,* ríg-idus; *sade,* sáp-idus; whence *maussade,* male sáp-idus[1]. See p. 192.

-*Le,* Lat. -ilis. *Humb-le,* húm-ilis; *faib-le* (O. Fr. *floible*), fléb-ilis; *douil-le,* dúct-ilis; *meub-le,* mób-ilis; *frêle,* frág-ilis; *gré-le,* grác-ilis[2].

-Inus disappears in French. *Page,* página; *jaune,* gálb-inus; *femme,* fém-ina; *frêne,* fráx-inus; *dame,* dóm-ina; *charme,* cárp-inus; *coffre,* cóph-inus[3].

-*Te,* Lat. -itus, -ita. *Ven-te,* vénd-ita; *ren-te,* rédd-ita; *det-te,* déb-ita; *per-te,* pérd-ita; *qué-te,* quaés-ita (so accented for quaesíta in vulgar Latin).

-*Le,* Lat. -olus. *Diab-le,* diáb-olus; *apôt-re* (O. Fr. *apost-le*), apóst-olus.

-*Le,* Lat. -ulus. *Tab-le,* táb-ula; *fab-le,* fáb-ula; *amb-le,* ámb-ula; *peup-le,* póp-ulus; *hièb-le,* éb-ulum; *seil-le,* sítula; *sang-le,* cíng-ulum; *ong-le,* úng-ula; *chapit-re,* capítulum; *mer-le,* mér-ula; *éping-le,* spín-ula; *ensoup-le,* insúb-ulum[4].

The following suffixes are formed from -ulus:—

1. -*Ail,* Lat. -aculus. *Gouvern-ail,* gubern-áculum; *tenaille,* ten-áculum; *soupir-ail,* suspir-áculum. French derivatives: *trav-ail, ferm-ail, évent-ail,* &c.

2. -*Il,* Lat. -eculus. *Goup-il,* vulp-écula. In Old French this word meant a fox, and still survives in the diminutive *goupillon,* a sprinkler, originally made of a fox's tail.

3. -*Eil,* Lat. -iculus. *Ab-eille,* ap-icula; *ort-eil* (O. Fr. *art-eil*), art-ículum; *somm-eil,* somn-ículus *; *sol-eil,* sol-

---

[1] Learned form *ide:* *rig-ide,* ríg-idus; *sap-ide,* sáp-idus; *ar-ide,* ár-idus; &c.

[2] Learned form *ile:* *mob-ile,* mob-ilis; *duct-ile,* duct-ilis; *frag-ile,* fragilis, &c.

[3] Learned form *ine:* *machine,* máchina, &c.

[4] Learned form *ule:* *cell-ule,* cell-ula; *calc-ul,* calc-ulus; *funamb-ule,* funamb-ulus.

ículus*; *or-eille*, aur-ícula; *corn-eille*, corn-ícula; *ou-aille*, ov-ícula; *verm-eil*, verm-ículus; *aig-uille*, ac-ícula.

4. -*Ouil*, Lat. -uculus. *Fen-ouil*, fen-ículum; *gren-ouille*, ran-úcula; *verr-ou* (O. Fr. *verr-ouil*, surviving in *verrouiller*), ver-úculum; *gen-ou* (O. Fr. *gen-ouil*, surviving in *agenouiller*), gen-úculum.

We have seen above (p. 79) that vowels which follow the tonic syllable disappear in French; consequently the learned forms of atonic suffixes, such as *fragile, mobile*, &c., from frág-ilis, mób-ilis, &c., are incorrect, seeing that they all retain the vowels after the tonic syllable, and in fact displace the Latin accent. We may indeed lay it down as a general rule that, *in the case of Latin atonic suffixes, all French words of learned origin break the law of Latin accentuation.*

SECTION III.

VERBAL SUFFIXES.

§ 1. *Suffixes accented in Latin.*

-*Ais*, Lat. -asco; -*ois*, Lat. -esco; -*is*, Lat. -isco. *N-ais*, n-asco [1]; *p-ais*, p-asco; *par-ais*, par-esco; *cr-oís*, cr-esco, &c.

-*Aître*, O. Fr. -*aistre*, Lat. -ascere. *N-aître*, n-áscere; *p-aître*, p-áscere.

-*ie*, Lat. -ico, -igo. *L-ie*, l-igo; *chât-ie*, cast-igo; *n-ie*, n-ego, &c.

-*Èle*, Lat. -illo. *Chanc-èle, gromm-èle, harc-èle*, &c.

-*Er*, Lat. -are. *Pes-er*, pens-are; *chant-er*, cant-are, &c.

-*Cer*, -*ser*, Lat. -tiare. These are forms peculiar to the

---

[1] We have seen (p. 129) that all deponent verbs became active in form in the Low Latin.

common Latin : *tra-cer*, **trac-tiare** *; *su-cer*, **suc-tiare** *;
chas-ser, **cap-tiare** *.

§ 2. *Atonic suffixes.*

-*Che*, -*ge*, Lat. -ico. *Ju-ge*, júd-ico ; *mâ-che*, mást-ico ;
ven-ge, vénd-ico ; *ron-ge*, rúm-igo ; *char-ge*, cárr-ico, &c.
The learned form is -*ique* : *revend-ique*, revénd-ico ; *mast-ique*, mást-ico.

-*Re*, Lat. -ere. *Sourd-re*, súrg-ere ; *moud-re*, mól-ere ;
tord-re, tórqu-ere ; *ard-re*, árd-ere.   This Old French verb,
which signified 'to burn,' remains in the participle *ardent*,
and the substantive *ardeur*.

-**Io** disappears in French. *Dépouille*, despolio.

-*Le*, Lat. -ulo. *Mou-le*, mód-ulo ; *comb-le*, cúm-ulo ;
tremb-le, trém-ulo ; *troub-le*, túrb-ulo.

Under -ulo we may put :—

1. -*Aille*, Lat. -aculo, as in *tir-aille*, *cri-aille*, &c.

2. -*Ille*, Lat. -iculo. *Fou-ille*, fod-ículo ; *saut-ille*, *tort-ille*,
&c.

3. -*Ouille*, Lat. -uculo. *Chat-ouille*, *bred-ouille*, *barb-ouille*,
&c.

SECTION IV.

DIMINUTIVES.

These are sixteen in number.

-*Ace*, -*asse*, Lat. -aceus. *Vill-ace*, *grim-ace* (*grimer*), *popul-ace*, *paper-asse*, &c.

-*Isse*, -*iche*, Lat. -iceus. *Coul-isse* (*couler*), *pel-isse* (*peau*),
can-iche.

-*Oche*, Lat. -oceus. *Épin-oche*, *pi-oche*.

-*Uche*, Lat. -uceus. *Pel-uche*, *guen-uche*.

For -aculus see above, p. 202.

-*Aud*, -*aut*, Lat. -aldus (from the Germ. *walt*, Low Lat.

-oáldus, then -aldus). *Bad-aud, crap-aud, rouge-aud, lourd-aud, levr-aut.*

-*Aïl, aille*, Lat. -alia. *Bét-ail*, besti-alia ; *poitr-ail*, pector-alia ; *port-ail*, port-alia ; *can-aille, mur-aille, bat-aille*, &c.

-*Ard*, Lat. -ardus (from the Germ. *hart*, Low Lat. -ardus). *Bav-ard, bât-ard, mign-ard, can-ard.* See above, p. 196.

-*Âtre*, Lat. -aster. See above, p. 197.

-*At, -et, -ot.* (1) -*At :* *aigl-at, louv-at, verr-at.* (2) -*Et, -ette :* *sách-et (sac), coch-et (coq), moll-et (mol), maisonn-ette, alou-ette*, for which word see above, p. 6. (3) -*Ot, -otte :* *bill-ot (bille), cach-ot (cache), brûl-ot (brûle), îl-ot (île),* &c.

-*Eau, -el, -elle*, Lat. -ellus, -illus. *Agn-eau*, agn-éllus ; *jum-eau*, gem-éllus ; *ann-eau* ann-éllus ; *écu-elle*, scut-élla ; *vaiss-eau*, vasc-éllus ; *ois-eau*, avic-éllus.

-Onem, -ionem. See above, p. 199.

-Ulus. See above, p. 202.

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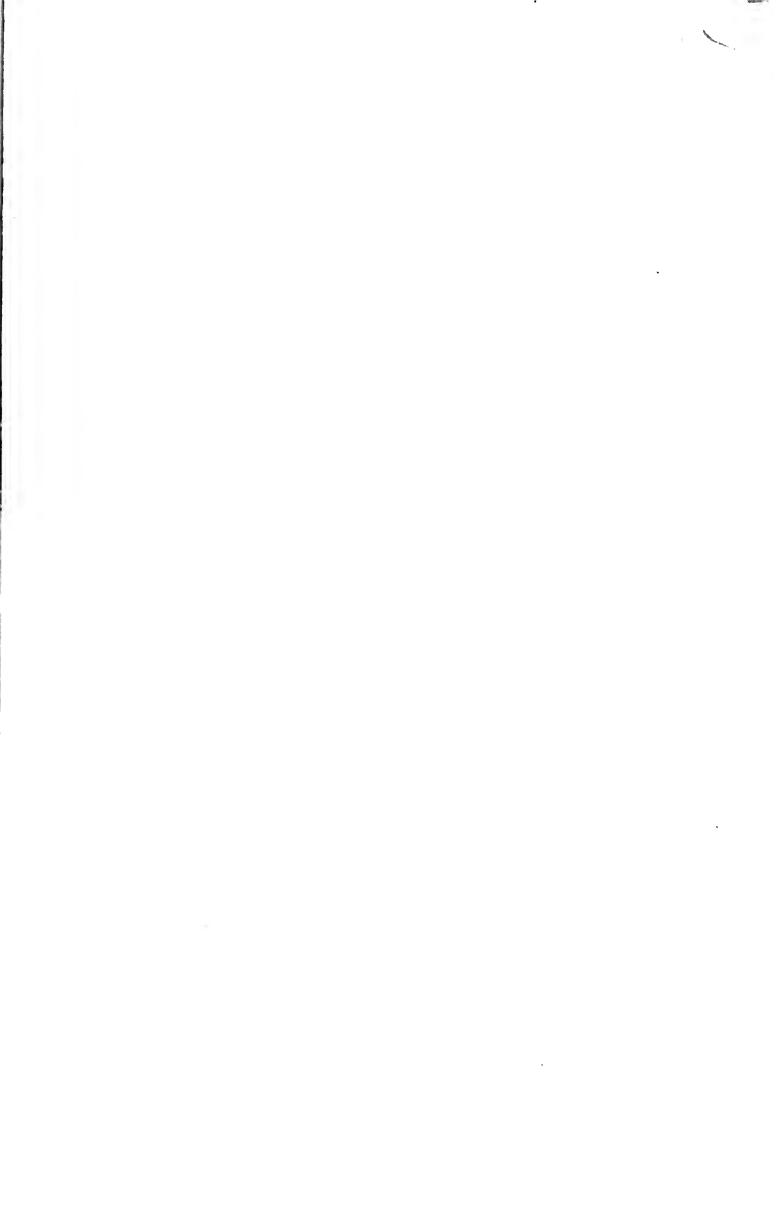
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